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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1726



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#### BRIEFS

OUTGOING HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR--Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, has received Miklos Barity, ambassador of the Hungarian Peoples Republic to Czechoslovakia, at the CPCZ headquarters, prior to the termination of his diplomatic mission.

[Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2150 GMT 10 Sep 79 LD]

HUNGARIAN ENVOY'S DEPARTURE--Miklos Barity, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian Peoples Republic to the CSSR, departed Czechoslovakia on 14 September. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Sep 79 p 8 AU]

SED DELEGATION RECEIVED--A study delegation led by K. H. Kuntsche, deputy chief of a SED Central Committee department, which has arrived in the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, was received on 17 September by Vladimir Micka, deputy chief of a CPCZ Central Committee department. In the course of its visit, the SED delegation will be studying the CPCZ's experience gained in the sphere of control and planning of scientific-technical development. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 79 p 2 AU]

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE CHAIRMAN--A. A. Bulgakov, visiting chairman of the Presidium of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship League and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education, met in Bratislava on 18 September with Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League and chairman of the Slovak National Council, and with other members of the league's Presidium. They discussed the expansion of mutual cooperation between the two organizations. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Sep 79 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

# 'RUDE PRAVO' ARTICLE RECALLS RESETTLEMENT OF GERMAN CZECHS

[Editorial Report AU] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 September, on page 6, carries a 600-word article by Karel Doudera, entitled: "They Have Fulfilled Their International Duty; They Helped Build the GDR." At the suggestion of Franz Huebner from Saalfeld in Thueringen, GDR, Doudera recalls the merits of "former CPCZ members," who "had voluntarily left Crechoslovakia" according to the "arrangement between the CPCZ and the Communist Party of Germany," shortly after the end of World War II. Those "communists of German nationality moved with their families into what was at the time the Soviet occupation zone, to help build a new, peace-loving and democratic Germany," Doudera states, adding: "In this campaign of voluntary resettlement thousands and thousands of comrades of German nationality left Czechoslovakia for the present GDR together with their families -altogether about 50,000 people." Writing his article in connection with the 30th GDR anniversary, Doudera states that, "These people included communists who had stood at the cradle of the CPCZ and had been functionaries in our party for many years," and also "experienced political workers; some of them I met when they had become SED or trade union functionaries, or were in leading positions in the people's administration in regions, districts, cities or communities, but also in the army and security," Doudera adds.

CSO: 2400

# FURTHER REPORTAGE ON FOJTIK'S ADDRESS TO KOSICE SEMINAR

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Sep 79 LD

[Text] The all-state seminar on the tasks of mass political and agitation work in recuring the national-economic plan and increasing the efficiency of production and work closed in Kosice today. Present at the seminar were CPCZ Central Committee secretaries, Jan Fojtik and Josef Haman; Ludovit Pezlar, CPSL Presidium member and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Vasil Bejda and Otto Cmolik, departmental heads of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Jan Pirc, leading secretary of the East Slovak CPSL Regional Committee.

A paper devoted to the current tasks of propaganda and mass political work in implementing the party's economic policy was delivered by Comrade Jan Foitik. In his paper he dealt with the party's endeavor to further raise the standards of mass political work, economic propaganda, political agitation and all political-educational and ideological activity. He paid main attention to current tasks in this sphere in view of the topical tasks of our national economy. Comrade Fojtik said that we want our work to result in true mass initiatives in mastering the demanding tasks and in overcoming difficulties and weaknesses. It is necessary to deepen and coordinate economic propaganda and agitation in this direction. This is in keeping with the conclusions of the deliberations of the highest party bodies. We are duty bound to do this as a result of the conclusions of the 1972 CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on further increasing the efficiency of economic propaganda and agitation. This document is still topical. However, we recommend a number of other [word indistinct] measures for the improvement of this work in keeping with the current situation of our national economy and the tasks connected with its development.

Comrade Fojtik further recalled the irreplaceable role of the mass media in introducing into the whole of our society the spirit of a critical and demanding approach, in stimulating concrete endeavors for efficiency, quality and thrifty management and in promoting intolerant and principled attitudes in combating all kinds of abuses, bad management and wastefulness which impoverish our society. To illuminate the meaning of the demand for an increase in the efficiency and quality of all work requires an appropriate,

concrete and specific application of the method of positive examples on the basis of a deep knowledge of the problems of various places of work. If economic propaganda and agitation are to considerably contribute to a fruitful mobilization of forces in the economy, they must be organically linked to the rearing of socialist man, to strengthening his awareness and to the characteristics he ought to have as a true manager and a builder of socialism and progress.

Comrade Fojtik stated that it is therefore one of the tasks of our economic propaganda and agitation to cultivate in the people the correct idea of the possibilities of socialism, its great advantages, its indisputable advantage over capitalism, and at the same time of its firmly defined limits--limits which cannot be extended--as regards the resources from which the needs of the people are satisfied.

Emphasis must be put on insuring that everybody is aware of his own contribution to the creation of the material and spiritual resources of society so that, in keeping with this contribution, everybody defines his needs and requirements and his view as to what can and what cannot be expected from society. The application of a critical and demanding approach must also always be coupled with the indication of solutions and ways ahead, Comrade Fojtik further stressed. Focusing on the future therefore means for us to more effectively enter the struggle to speed up technical and scientific progress. The endeavor of propaganda and agitation, even its most attractive forms, will nevertheless miss the point if it is not based on other branches of party work and on consistent political-organizational and economic measures, as well as checks, [words indistinct].

CSO: 2400

# GREATER EFFORTS TO CHANGE PEOPLE'S THINKING URGED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 79 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The Battle for the Way of Thinking"]

[Excerpts] In the life of an individual and in the life of a society there are situations that test the character of man, the degree of his awareness and his knowledge of social connections and situations that are decisive for an objective evaluation of the existing stage of development. These situations do not necessarily have to be watershed situations that decide the fate of the nation, the fate of socialism--as was the case with the crisis-ridden 1968-69 period. Even such facts as the recent price adjustments can have--even though only to a certain degree--similar significance.

They held the mirror up to the face of each individual and represented in a way a test--though not a comprehensive one--of his thoughts and deeds. It turned out that the overwhelming majority of working people received the not exactly popular, but for our further healthy social development unavoidable, measures with understanding. At the same time, however, one cannot overlook that there were also individuals who failed to grasp them and drew from them incorrect, subjectivist conclusions distorting not only our current situation and casting doubt on our entire economic policy but also misinterpreting our economy's present growth and essentially positive development.

It would be possible to ignore such manifestations and attituder because they have never been determing or decisive. It would be possible not to take them into account since they are isolated occurrences that fail fundamentally to perceive the realities determining and influencing the fulfillment of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and of the program on the standard of living and the consolidation of social security.

However, it is in any case appropriate to ponder more deeply the fact that could be--in a simplified form--expressed as follows: We all live in socialism and have achieved--thanks to its advantages and to the honest and brave work of the overwhelming majority of the working people--a high

standard of living, but so far not all of us think, live and act in a socialist manner.

Quite a few of us perceive and explain the socialist social order in their own way, as if it were a social order--almost a "magic table" [referrace to the fairy tale by the Grimm brothers] in which everyone's desires and longings can be realized by a wave of the hand, at one's wish, without having to contribute a hard day's work to provide one's own and society's abundant table, everywhere--at each place of work. As if it were a social order, in which the means of production are social ownership but where that which is common and social is still alien to oneself and remote and where one's talents and abilities are devoted--therefore--to improving one's own sandbox, which is one's own private property. As if it were a social order, in which all the accomplishments--reflected and contained in our high standard of living--are a matter of course.

Even under socialism the state treasury is not bottomless, one can take out of it and distribute only as much as we put into it through our joint efforts. We shall even have to put more into it, should our standard of living continue to rise.

In the current complex and exacting stage of development, the significance and role of mass-political work, personal agitation and ideological work in general come particularly to the fore. Their pricrity task is to consolidate in the party and within the society as a whole the deep conviction about the correctness of our policy, about the bright prospects of our socialist construction. The convincing, personal example is important in mass-political work. This must be realized, above all, by those who are in charge of managing certain sectors. Everyone, no matter how small the collective he directs, must act so as to consolidate the people's socialist awareness and their attitude to socialism and to enlist--by setting personal example--their active participation in implementing party policy. It is the task of personal agitation to promptly and persuasively respond to various questions emerging among people, to crush demagogic rumors and false forecasts and to counter backward moods and unrestrained conduct [zivelnost].

Only a systematic and lasting influence on the mind and the thinking of man can deepen his education, only the truth of real socialism can teach him to perceive and analyze the essence—and not just some phenomena—of the process of development with all its positive aspects and existing problems and complexity. The thinking of our man must not visibly lag behind his being [byti], or social relations behind the dynamic development of production forces. We must achieve between them greater harmony and deeper interdependence than has been the case until now. Socialist man cannot be pampered and reared behind some sort of a glass wall that would protect him—as a fragile flower—against objective new conditions and external factors that also influence our economy. This does not, naturally, mean that we want to leave him at the mercy of difficulties or solve them at

his expense. This is why we have chosen the exacting path of overcoming the influences of the growing world prices on our economy by means of active measures in production, and by increasing its effectiveness, by using the resources of the whole society more economically, by strengthening our export ability and by achieving a deeper integration in the international division of labor--particularly within the framework of the socialist community.

Choosing the correct path is, of course, one thing and treading it in a creative, uncompromising, dynamic and united manner is another. We have already achieved a great deal but are far from what we have to accomplish.

This is the misery of our subjective causes, among which the struggle to change the way of thinking is in no case of secondary importance.

CSO: 2400

'RUDE PRAVO': HOMELAND IS PRECIOUS GIFT, REWARDS THE LOYAL

[Editorial Report AU] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 September on page 1 carries a 1,400-word editorial entitled "Our Country." It extols in lyrical terms the value of a person's country, with particular reference to the CSSR. "A homeland is a great gift," the editorial says, "and a person can lose it--as he can lose any gift. However many times a person may betray it and exchange it for foreign world--no matter what he is trying to talk himself into--he will never be accepted there, he always will remain foreigner."

The editorial describes the country's natural beauty, its past sufferings and the achievements of its people, from the dawn of history to its social-ist-communist present, from King Premysl Otakar II and Jan Hus to cosmonaut Vladimir Remek. It praises its composers, writers, inventors, scientists and politicians, saying "we have given them to the world gladly and the world has accepted them. With profound recognition it has accepted the eternal, lasting values which the great ones of this country, of our fatherland, have created."

It mentions Czechoslovakia's betrayal by its western allies in 1938, and its subsequent post-World War II orientation toward the USSR and socialism. After decades of struggles for a better tomorrow, the CSSR today stands "in the midst of an advanced socialist society." But even so, RUDE PRAVO continues, not every day is a holiday and socialism and communism are "setting ever higher and more exacting goals"--but one cannot fail to see how the country has flourished during the years of building socialism thanks to the country's working people in industry and agriculture. Gratitude is due, it adds, to its scientists, technicians, teachers and artists, "to all who were not afraid of the great plans and took their place at the head of new, beautiful generations, of free, proud generations who love this country-our common socialist fatherland--who love with profound international feelings everyone who is trying, like our people, to build a new and better society.

"And one could only change the words of the poet very little to express the motherland's gratitude to man: If you do not leave me, you will not perish!

"Our motherland is a mother. From its sons and daughters it deserves gratitude, love, eternal admiration and humility. It will gratefully return them forever," the editorial ends.

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA

# WELFARE BENEFITS FOR CHILDREN, FAMILIES DESCRIBED

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY Supplement in Czech No 36, 1979 pp 5 - 16

[Text] Forms of Benefits

Social assistance to families with children in the CSSR is provided by a comprehensive system of monetary and non-monetary benefits, allowances, grants and services that assists young couples and families in different phases of establishing a family and caring for their children, in furnishing a home, and so forth. This system has been gradually expanded and improved within the capabilities of the national economy.

Social assistance to families takes the following forms:

- -- Compensatory payments during pregnancy and the post-natal period
- -- Paid maternity leave and financial post-natal assistance
- -- Child support at birth
- -- Sick family member support
- -- Child allowances
- -- Maternal allowances
- -- Provision for the members of the families of citizens serving in the armed services
- --State-subsidized loans to young married couples
- -- Foster care
- -- Various non-monetary forms of assistance
- -- Social welfare payments and services

Compensatory Payments during Pregnancy and the Post-Natal Period

This form of assistance has an important function during the period when the woman's pregnancy could be endangered. If, during her pregnancy or through the ninth month following the birth of her child, a woman performs work forbidden for pregnant women or which in her doctor's opinion jeopardizes her pregnancy or her ability to care for her child, the organization is required to transfer the woman worker to other, more suitable work. If the worker through no fault of her own earns less at the job to which she is transfered than she did prior to being transfered, she is entitled to compensatory payments during pregnancy and following the birth of a child in the form of health insurance payments. Compensatory payments need not be automatically granted, since the organization should insure that the woman is transfered to a job where she earns the same wage as she did originally.

The amount of the compensatory payment granted equals the difference between the worker's average net earnings during a base period, usually the year prior to the transfer (or the "former wage") and her average net earnings each calendar month after being transfered (or her "current wate"). The former wage and the current wage are determined on the basis of one working hour. Here, too, the maximum corresponds to the maximum net daily wage of 100 (or 120) korunas.

If, up to the day she was transferred to other work, the worker performed work that endangered her health, but for a period of less than one month, then the former wage, not counting that of the three calendar months immediately preceding her transfer to other work, is to be paid.

According to the new directives, the payments are also to be made to a woman who, upon a doctor's recommendation and as a result of pregnancy or of having recently given birth, has adjusted working conditions, for example, a reduction in the number of machines attended, or who has been exempted from night work, and so forth, and as a result has lower earnings.

# Financial Maternity Assistance

These benefits are paid in lieu of wages to a worker who is employed on the day she goes on maternal leave, or to one who at the beginning of the fourth week before the expected date of birth or the actual date of birth is still within the protected six-month period after leaving a job, or to one who is receiving sick pay from a former job up until the beginning of the fourth week.

In all these cases a condition for receiving financial assistance upon the birth of a child is that the woman be covered by the health insurance plan for at least 270 days (known as the waiting period) during the two years before her child is born. Included in this waiting period, in addition to the period of employment, are periods during the two years prior to the birth when the worker was covered by:

- a) the health insurance plan for members of producing cooperatives,
- b) health care provided by the armed services,
- c) income support during illness,
- d) insurance for artists and cooperative farm workers,
- e) was receiving, after insurance (security, welfare) benefits had been exhausted, sick pay benefits or financial post-natal assistance,
- f) was studying, after completing compulsory school attendance, at a school offering a secondary or higher level education,
- g) was covered by employment insurance for private farmers and other selfemployed persons, or
- h) after completing her compulsory school attendance or membership in a producing cooperative either while employed or in school, was registered with the national committee as seeking employment.

Women who, after terminating a job, join a producing cooperative, school attend or [enroll for] further study or who are registered with the national committee as seeking employment or who are not entitled to this allowance on the basis of former employment also have the right to receive financial assistance upon becoming a mother. In these cases the agency responsible for granting this allowance is the appropriate national committee.

Maternity financial assistance is granted in lieu of wages or sick pay for a period of 26 weeks of maternity leave, of which 4 are usually taken before the birth of the child and 22 following it. The day of birth is included in calculating the 22-week period. A worker who used less than four weeks of her maternity leave before the baby was born, where it was not a case of the birth occuring earlier than the doctor had predicted, or where the doctor, in view of the worker's health and working conditions, had allowed to continue working, is also allowed only 22 weeks of financial maternity assistance from the day of birth. The worker can begin her paid maternity leave no earlier than at the beginning of the eighth week before her due date. In cases where two or more children are born at one time or where the mother is single, the total paid maternity leave amounts to 35 weeks.

Financial maternity benefits are also paid to a worker who has taken on the permanent care of a child in the place of his mother with the intention of later adopting him, or a child whose mother has died. In this case benefits are paid for no longer than 22 weeks from the day she takes custody of the child, and for no longer than until the day the child is 7 months old.

Special regulations govern the cases where the baby is not born alive or where the mother does not devote the necessary care to her child.

The amount of the post-natal benefit is the same for all workers and amounts to 90 percent of the net daily wage of the entire period of the paid maternity leave.

The maternity allowance is computed in essentially the same way as the sickness allowance. For single workers, however, the tax is computed at the rate that would apply to the worker after the child is born. A second exception applies if the worker has changed her place of employment within a period of 12 months prior to going on maternity leave: in this case she must request that her maternity allowance be computed on the basis of the length of all periods of employment that fall periods of employment that fall within the 12-month period.

If the worker commences a new maternity leave no later than one month after her previous child reaches the age of two years, and if in so doing she meets the requirements for receiving the post-natal allowance, the maternity allowance is calculated on the basis of the same net daily wage as was used for the previous maternity leave; it is required, however, that she take maternity leave while being employed by the same organization or is within the protected period after leaving it. The post-natal allowance for such a worker, however, will be recalculated if she so requests and if in the interim between completing her previous maternity leave and beginning her new maternity leave she was employed for at least 25 working days.

If none of the instances mentioned in the preceding paragraph applies, and if a worker who otherwise meets the requirements for receiving a maternity allowance performed no work in the organization by which she was uninter-ruptedly employed, or if her employment extended only until the beginning of the protected period, for less than 25 work days within the 12-month period before beginning maternity leave, then her post-natal allowance is computed on the basis of the earnings she is credited with for these 12 months, days of unpaid time off being included in the number of days for which she is credited.

In applying the paragraphs above, the following are to be considered as equivalent to days on which the worker actually worked: days for which the woman worker was entitled to wage compensation; days for which she was entitled to sick pay or nursing pay for caring for a sick member of her family, or work days during which she continued nursing after exhausting this form of assistance; work days during which she performed no work because of fulfilling a civic duty or obligation.

A maternity allowance is also paid to the graduate of a university or of a school providing secondary or higher education if, due to pregnancy or motherhood, she was unable to begin the employment arranged according to the regulations of the placing of graduates (Government Decree No. 16/1963 Law Code on the placement of those graduating from universities, conservatories, and secondary vocational schools, and Government Decree No. 74/1965 Law Code), and if, by including per period of study, she meets

the requirements of having been covered by health insurance for 270 days prior to giving birth. The basis for establishing the amount of the maternity allowance is the credited earnings which the graduatz would probably have received if she had begin her assigned employment. The post-natal allowance is also granted to such a graduate by the regional trade council of her place of residence. Thus the post-natal allowance paid replaces the financial aid to which the graduate would otherwise be entitled in the form of insurance for graduates. The graduate is also paid benefits upon the birth of the child if she is not entitled to them for some other reason.

# Child Support at Birth

These grants are made to reimburse the parents for the increased expenses incurred by the birth of a child, these being chiefly the purchase of the layette, carriage and crib.

The grant paid upon the birth of a child is in the amount of 2,000 korunas for each child born.

# The Child Allowance

This represents the most important part of the direct aid to families with children. Payments for children are made to workers covered by health insurance for their dependent children in the form of health insurance benefits. Payments are also made to a worker who has been called up for service in the armed forces. Recipients are paid child support benefits instead of the child allowance in accordance with the social welfare regulations. If either parent is receiving payments for disability, partial disability, old-age, personal or social reasons or a pension, or partial payments, then child support benefits, which take precedence over the child allowance, are paid for the dependant children. The child support benefits do not affect the widow's pension; on the other hand, payment of orphan's benefits does not preclude payment of the child allowance.

An employee is entitled to receive the child allowance if:

- a) has dependent children who meet the requirements established;
- b) has assigned duties at his place of employment;
- c) worked the required amount of time during the calendar month.

It follows from the above that for the award of an allowance it is necessary that the employee have a work obligation at the place of employment that corresponds to the working hours set at the organization for the operation in which he or she is involved.

A half-time work obligation suffices when the workers' ability to work changes, or, in the case of a female worker, when she is caring for at least one dependent child and for that reason has a shorter work obligation.

In order to be able to claim a child allowance a worker is required to have worked every work day (or shift) during the calendar month.

The following are counted as equivalent to time worked:

- -- time for which the worker receives sick pay in lieu of wages;
- -- time for which wage compensation or wages are received;
- --time spent at public functions, performing civic duties and other tasks for the public good; service in the armed forces, including the leave time connected with such service;
- --time during which he or she was demonstrably unable to work due to adverse weather conditions, or when required not to work by the organization;
- --time off granted in accordance with the regulations concerning school attendance while being employed or those on part-time graduate study;
- --compensatory time off granted for having worked overtime or on a holiday;
- -- time spent at a health-spa;
- --time lost from work due to caring for a child under 10 or nursing a member of the family after the expiration of the period for which the nursing allowance is paid;
- -- time off granted by the organization for other reasons, not to exceed three work days in a calendar month;
- --time during which the maternity allowance is being paid to an unmarried, widowed, divorced or any female worker who is living alone for other serious reason.

The unexcused absence from a single shift during a calendar month thus results in the loss of the child allowance for that month. Missing even part of the work period entails disagreeable results for the worker. Whenever the time missed during a calendar month equals the average length of an entire work day (shift) the worker loses his entitlement to the child allowance for that month, just as if he had missed one entire work day.

Those children, either the worker's own or adopted children or those of the worker's wife, are considered to be dependent who have not yet completed their compulsory school attendance. After completing their compulsory school attendance children are considered to be dependent until they reach the age of 26 if they do not have a gross income in their own right of over 620 korunas per calendar month (raising this limit is under consideration), and if

- a) they are systematically preparing for their future occupation by studying or by engaging in the required practical training;
- b) they are unable to prepare for their future occupation or to be employed due to illness, or if because of physical or mental handicap they are permanently incapacitated for work and are not receiving disability payments for this reason.

To be considered to be preparing for his future occupation a child must be

- a) preparing in a training situation;
- b) preparing at a work situation;
- c) preparing for employment in a facility for young persons with special needs (a residential trade school for young people with special needs, the trade schools of the institutes of social welfare for physically handicapped young people),
- d) studying at a school organized in accordance with the educational regulations and that provides middle, secondary or college-level education. For the purposes of determining eligibility for the child allowance, studying while being employed and other forms of less than full-time school attendance (extramural, correspondence, evening school, etc.) do not count as study, nor does study while performing basic military service. School vacations are considered as periods of study, including vacations beginning immediately after the completion of studies, since during these times the child has of course not begun his permanent employment or any other permanent work.

Income in the child's own right is considered to be wages (bonuses, wage compensation) and other recurrent income belonging directly to the child. In calculating such income, the total income from such sources that the child received during a given calendar month is counted regardless of the period for which the income was derived. The amount of the payment for the current calendar month is determined by the child's own income during the immediately preceding calendar month, as long as that month falls within the time limit for preparing for his future occupation.

Not included in the child's own income is any stipend paid in accordance with the relevent regulations on stipends. Any stipendium having the nature of compensation for earnings is included, however. Also not included in calculating the child's in one is the value of free dormitory accommodations and meals, the maintenasce allowance (food allowance paid for the child), an orphan's allowance, including any extra payments for illness, income earned during school vacations, income earned by the student (pupil) for work organized by and required by his school or agreed to by school authorities. Nor are any earnings derived from temporary or part-time

work included, or earnings from work performed under an agreement to work without being permanently employed, or reimbursements for the child's needs paid in accordance with law no. 50/1973 of the Law Code, which concern the care of children placed in foster homes.

A worker is also entitled to receive an allowance for his own grandchild or a brother or sister, or for the grandchild or the brother or sister of his wife, if the child resides with him, and if it is not possible to receive health insurance benefits or child support benefits from the social welfare of either of the parents, and if the other conditions established for receiving the allowance for one's own child are met.

The allowance is also paid for a child for whom the worker or his wife acts as a guardian. This is only done, however, when benefits cannot be paid by health insurance (security) in the name of anyone else, for example, one of the parents or grandparents.

In principle, the allowance is paid for dependent children living within the borders of the CSSR. For dependent children residing abroad the allowance is paid

- a) when residence outside the CSSR is temporary and for medical, recreational or educational reasons;
- b) if the child is accompanying a parent who has been sent abroad on temporary duty by a Czechoslovak organization, or
- c) if payment of the child allowance is required by an inter-state agreement.

The amount of the monthly payment equals:

For	one child	140	korunas
For	two children	530	**
For	three children	1030	**
For	four children	1480	**

For a dependent child who is an invalid requiring constant care an additional 300 korunas monthly is added to the child care allowance if the child is not living in an institution and if he does not receive a disability income. Disability and the necessity of constant care are determined at the worker's request by a review commission of the welfare office of the district national committee. This additional payment is based on the child allowance, and thus when the worker is no longer entitled to receive the ullowance, he also loses his right to the additional payment. This special additional payment at least partially compensates the mother for the income she loses by staying home with her disabled child.

The child allowance is intended exclusively for the support of dependent children. If recipients of the child allowance do not use it in a way that

is in the child's best interests, the national committee will propose that the allowance be paid to the national committee, which will expend it on the child's needs, for example, it will pay for the child's school lunches, buy his clothes, etc.

Child allowances were paid for nearly 4.3 million children in 1978. Over 11 billion korunas are expended annually on this important social provision, making this the most expensive form of social assistance in the system of aid to families with dependent children. The increase in the child allowance now being implemented will mean an annual increase of 2.6 billion korunas.

# The Maternal Allowance

The maternal allowance was introduced in the interest of improving the population situation in our country. It won immediate favor since it made it possible for a mother to stay at home longer with her child. It is paid to women who have decided to devote themselves entirely to the care of their children and who do not have any income derived from work during this time. Every woman is entitled to this allowance who

- a) regularly spends the entire day caring for a child under two;
- b) in addition, regularly cares for another child or children who have not completed their compulsory school attendance, and if the child is an invalid requiring constant care, up to 26 years of age.

A woman who regularly spends the entire day caring for just one child under two is entitled to receive the maternal allowance:

- --if she is unmarried, widowed, divorced, or living singly for other good reason, and is not living with a lover;
- -- if the child is an invalid and requires constant care, or
- --if the woman is the child's guardian and fulfills certain other requirements.

If the woman is a pupil or student attending daily classes at a middle or secondary school, or is attending a military school, such study is considered as employment.

One eligibility requirement of the maternal allowance is that the children be citizens of Czechoslovakia and that they live within the borders of our state.

A further requirement is that the woman take proper care of the physical and emotional health and upbringing of all her children, and that during pregnancy she make regular visits to a health care facility.

She must have her first examination no later than by the end of her 16th week of pregnancy, unless prevented from so doing by a serious physical reason, after which she must be regularly examined as advised by her doctor.

It is also a condition for receiving the maternal allowance that the woman not have any income from gainful employment (wages, pay, bonuses, or any other income from gainful employment), that she not be receiving financial benefits from health insurance (security, welfare) in lieu of wages, payments made prior to placement out of school or payments made while preparing for a future occupation. If the above-mentioned health insurance benefits or other forms of payments are lower than the maternal allowance, the allowance can be granted in an amount equal to the difference between the maternal allowance and the benefit in question.

An exception to this rule is made for single mothers. If a woman is unmarried, widowed, divorced, or single for other good reason and not living with a lover, she is entitled to the maternal allowance even if she is gainfully employed, if her child under two cannot be placed in an infant care center for a good reason and the mother has made other arrangements to have him cared at her own expense while she is working by someone other than the parents or the grand-marents of the child's father or mother.

This provision of the law granting maternal allowances makes it possible for women who have decided to care for their children themselves to receive a certain amount of material support throughout the entire two years following the birth of their child.

The amount of the maternal allowance equals:

For the care of one child under two 500 Kcs monthly two children under two 800 Kcs monthly three or more children under two 1200 Kcs monthly

The authority competent to administer the health insurance program in which the woman participates makes decisions concerning the maternal allowance. Decisions regarding this allowance, its management and payments are dealt with by the corresponding regulations concerning health insurance.

In other cases, decisions concerning the maternal allowance are made by the regional national committee, division of social affairs, acting in accordance with the provisions of the law on administrative management.

Provisions Made for the Family Members of Citizens Serving in the Armed Forces

Service in the armed forces is the most serious duty of a citizen. Therefore, our state also considers it to be its duty to provide for the material needs of citizens performing such service. It pays them a dependents allowance as determined by the district national committee. According to the

regulations in force since 1 Jan 1976, the dependents allowance is paid while a citizen is doing his basic or reserve military service. When he is performing other types of service, such as further service and military training, the dependents allowance is granted only when a worker is not entitled to wage compensation from his place of employment, or a member of a JZD is not entitled to be reimbursed for lost labor compensation. Upon beginning his service, the soldier who had been employed immediately prior to entering the service for three months or less at his first employment after graduating from school or a training program is entitled to wage compensation in accordance with the provisions of the labor code for the first two weeks of basic or reserve military service; during this period the members of his family are not entitled to the dependents allowance.

The dependents allowance is primarily intended to provide for the soldier's wife and children, or under certain conditions for his common law wife or other persons.

The wife of a soldier is entitled to the dependents allowance if she is caring for a child under three, or if she is completely disabled according to
the income security regulations, or if she is unable to be gainfully employed for good cause (for example, because she is preparing for her future occupation, because she is in at least the thirteenth week of pregnancy, because she is caring for a healthy pre-school child over three who
could not be cared for otherwise, or because she is caring for a dependent
child over three who requires constant attendance and cannot be placed in a
social welfare institution.

The amount of the dependents allowance is established by law at the following fixed rates:

a) The dependents allowance for the vife (common-law vife) of a soldier is 550 korunas a month; it cannot, however, amount to more than 65 percent of the average gross earning of the soldier during the 12 calendar months prior to his beginning basic (reserve) military service. If the soldier was a student or apprentice during this time his income is calculated at 1200 korunas a month for every month his earnings from gainful employment were no higher than this figure.

If the soldier's wife (common-law wife) is gainfully employed, the dependents allowance is reduced by half the amount by which the total of her earnings from gainful employment and the basic dependent's allowance exceeds the sum of 1,500 korunas a month. The dependents allowance is not reduced, however, if the wife (common-law wife) is caring for at least one child entitled to a dependents allowance. This applies, for example, to the childless wife of a soldier who is gainfully employed and yet is still entitled to the dependents allowance because she is completely disabled.

The dependents allowance for a dependent child is 200 korunas a month. An additional payment of 300 korunas a month will be made if, in the judgment

of the review commission of the district national committee's welfare office, the child is disabled and requires constant attendance. It is a condition, however, that the child not be entitled to either an orphan's or disability benefits, that neither the child allowance nor child support is being paid for him, and that he is not being cared for in an institution for such children (for example, in a social welfare institution).

An unmarried soldier (divorced, widowed or otherwise single) who maintains his own residence, which during the period of his military active service is not occupied by anyone else, can be granted by the national committee a sum to reimburse him for maintaining his residence and the costs connected therewith, not to exceed 150 korunas a month. This allowance can also be paid to any soldier if the net income of the soldier's entire household does not amount to over 650 korunas per person per month. The maternal allowance is not included in this figure. If the wife (common-law wife) of the soldier is pregnant, one additional member of the family is counted in determining the size of the household.

While engaged in military training those workers covered by the labor code are entitled to wage compensation from the organization by which they are employed. If, however, they do not meet the prescribed requirements and are not entitled to wage compensation, for example because they were not employed or had not yet been employed for three months on the lay they began military training, then the members of the families of such soldiers are entitled to dependents allowances in accordance with the provisions above.

Members of JZD's are entitled to be reimbursed for lost labor compensation while undergoing military training by the JZD to which they belong at a rate corresponding to that used in calculating workers' wage compensation. The pertinent regulation is contained in the social security law.

Entitlement to the dependents allowance exists from the day when all the prescribed conditions are fulfilled. If the conditions for eligibility for this allowance are fulfilled only after the soldier begins his service, for example, by the birth of a child or by the conclusion of a marriage, then eligibility for the allowance exists from the day upon which this occurs.

Decisions concerning the dependents allowance are made by the district national committee in whose jurisdiction the soldier had his last permanent residence before entering the armed forces.

State-Subsidized Loans to Young Married Couples

These loans are intended to make it easier for young married couples to set up housekeeping. A loan of this type can be granted to a couple who are under 30 and who were married either after the law on such loans went into effect or three years before it did so. It is a further requirement that

the combined average monthly net income of the husband and wife not exceed 5,000 korunas in the calendar month immediately preceding the signing of the agreement. The loan is intended to subsidize the expenses involved in acquiring and furnishing an apartment. The amount of the loan can be up to 30,000 korunas; the interest on a loan made to acquire an apartment is 1 percent; the interest on a furnishings loan is 2.5 percent.

A couple to whom a loan has been made is granted a state subsidy in the form of a remission from the loan after each of their children reaches his first birthday. The remission amounts to 2,000 korunas for the first child and 4,000 korunas for each additional child.

# Foster Care

The types of substitute forms of bringing up children not being cared for by their own parents have been extended by law no. 50/1973 Law Code to include foster care. A child can be placed in the foster care of a citizen only if the citizen's personal and family situation, his spotless record as a citizen, his relationship to work and to society, and his attitude toward child rearing, guarantee that the child's upbringing will be in the child's and society's best interest.

A subsidy to cover the child's needs amounting to 500 korunas monthly is paid for a child under 10; the figure is 600 korunas monthly for a child over 10. The foster parent is also entitled to compensation for the care of each child placed in his care in the amount of 200 korunas per month per child. He is also entitled to receive the child allowance for these children.

The national committees establish special procedures for handling foster care.

# Different Types of Indirect Assistance

These are chiefly in the form of advantageous rates at which children are accommodated in institutions for children, for meals at school dining halls and cafeterias and for accommodations in dormitories and student homes. They also include loans of textbooks, reductions on income taxes, reduced transportation fares, reimbursement for maintaining a residence, etc. For example, 50 percent of the cost of school meals is born by the state. More than 70 percent of all children participate in this program. State intervention in the cost of goods for children was eliminated in 1979, but the higher costs of children's clothing were more than compensated for by the increased child allowance.

# Types of Walfare Payments and Services

Welfare payments and services are granted to the parents of dependent children, chiefly to single mothers (fathers) caring for a dependent child and to women during pregnancy if the family or the pregnant woman finds itself or herself in adverse circumstances which they are unable to overcome through their own efforts. In such cases the district national committee offers the following services: educational and counseling services, socio-legal protection, child-care for the family with children, housing in a home for mothers and their children, and interest-free loans. Assistance in the form of goods or cash can be granted either once or on a regular basis, for example, child support payments.

# Education and Counseling

The national committees, in cooperation with the social organizations and schools, prepare young citizens for marriage, guide them toward becoming responsible parents and help to improve relations in families threatened by divorce. They establish marriage and pre-marital counseling services, the purpose of which is to offer married and engaged couples expert help in solving problems in their relationships and thus to contribute to helping the couple and the family fulfill their duty as set forth in the law on the family.

# Socio-legal Protection

The national committees undertake to prevent any harm from occurring to children or juveniles in their families, at work, or anywhere else, and to protect them from harmful influences. They look into cases of broken families and any threats to the children's upbringing, and act to eliminate their causes and the effects. They can order or themselves take disciplinary measures (warnings to a minor, his parents and citizens who are interfering with his proper upbringing, placing a minor under supervision, and so forth).

### Homemaker Services

Assistance in caring for the children and household is provided to families with children in cases where the family is unable to provide this care for themselves due to serious incapacities on the part of the parents or other persons in whose care the children have been placed. This occurs primarily when the mother is sick, giving birth or in childbed, or is caring for triplets or more than three small children. Such assistance provides care for healthy children, nursing for sick children or their parents and such housework as is necessary to insure the smooth running of the household. It is generally granted in the form of reimbursements for sums expended, except when the family is socially deprived.

# Homes for Mothers With Children

One of the situations that is hardest for a mother is when she is not able to live together with her child. Solving the difficult housing problem of single mothers usually requires a certain amount of time. For this period

it is necessary to have facilities offering single mothers with small children who find themselves in difficult situation a place to live, educational and counseling or other social services, in particular assistance in finding work and in placing their children in preschool facilities.

Homes for mothers and their children are established and managed as welfare institutions by the regional national committees and, as necessary, by the district national committees, which also cover the cost of their upkeep. The amount the woman will be charged is determined upon her acceptance to the home, her socio-economic situation being taken into consideration in determining this amount.

The home not only makes it possible for a mother to live together with her child, as a rule until he is three years old, but also serves an educational function. It fosters the development of an emotional bond between the mother and her child, teaches the mother to care for her child properly and to manage a household, to provide for herself and her child through her economic activity, and to overcome this difficult period of her life without jeopardizing her membership in the community.

#### Interest-free Loans

The national committees offer loans to parents with dependent children, women during the period of their pregnancy, and other citizens with dependent children in their immediate care, if due to low income per family member or other good cause they are unable to obtain a loan from a state savings bank or the organization where they work. Loans of up to 500 korunas can be made in cash, and depending on the purpose, in amounts of up to 5,000 korunas.

# Aid in Kind

National committees also offer aid in the form of goods necessary to satisfy the necessities of life to parents with dependent children, especially single mothers and pregnant women, who are unable to secure these from their own income. Aid in kind is granted in amounts of up to a maximum of 5,000 korunas.

# Monetary Benefits

A one-time cash grant to cover emergency expenses is provided to the parents of dependent children or pregnant women if they are unable to meet these expenses from their own resources. The maximum amount of the one-time grant is 5,000 korunas.

Regular benefits are paid when there is a long-standing adverse social situation, chiefly to single women, families with many children, broken families, and so forth.

### Food Allowance

Despite all the types of aid outlined above it still may happen that instances occur of a family with dependent children finding itself in distressed circumstances. This happens especially when one of the parents ignores his/her responsibility to support his/her family or when a mother is unable to work because of the number of children she is caring for or when the family's income is too low and the children's welfare is jeopardized. The amount of this benefit is up to 400 korunas a month for a child under 10 and 500 korunas a month for children over 10. Parents are not automatically entitled to such benefits; decisions regarding its granting are made at the proposal of the welfare division of the district national committee's commission on children's affairs.

The system of public assistance for families with dependent children also provides for situations where children are left orphans through the death of one or both parents. In such a case orphans benefits are paid in the form of income security payments.

# Orphans Benefits

These benefits are paid to the child of a parent who has died until the child completes his compulsory education and, when certain conditions are met, up to the age of 26, chiefly when he is preparing for his future occupation (through study, vocational training). The orphan's benefits for a child who has lost one parent is 30 percent and that of a child who has lost both parents is 50 of the old-age pension to which the deceased would have been entitled. If the orphan's benefit of a complete orphan is his only source of income, it shall not amount to less than 780 korunas monthly.

#### Increased Benefits

### Population Trends

Trends in the birth-rate have been very favorable since 1970, as can be seen from the table below:

- (1) No. of children born alive (in thousands)
- (2) No. of children born alive per 1000 inhabitants

	1	Počet ki	vé narozea (v tis.)	ých deti	-	e ioca ob	
		CSSR	CSR	SSR	CSSR	CSR	SSR
1970		228,5	147,9	80,7	15,9	15,1	17,8
1971		237,2	154,2	83,1	10,5	15,7	16,2
1972		251,2	163,7	87,8	17,4	16,6	19,1
1973		274,7	131,7	93,0	18,9	18,3	20,0
1974		291,4	193,6	97,6	19,8	19,4	20,8
1975		289,3	191,7	97,6	19,5	19,1	€ 20,6
1970		267,1	187.4	99,7	19,2	16,5	20,8
1977		281,7	182,0	99,8	18,7	17,9	20,6
1976		278,2	178,4	99,8	18,4	17,4	20,4

The birth-rate increased steadily from 1970 until 1974. Since that time a slight decrease has been observed in the CSR; in the SSR the birth-rate was stabilized after 1974 as a result of the age composition of women there, which was more favorable than it was in the CSR.

The increase in the birth-rate was unquestionably influenced by the favorable age structure of the population and the higher percent of women in the fertile age. Calculations show, however, that it was to a greater extent the result of other general economic and socio-political factors and of the expansion of public assistance to families with children, which created better conditions for raising a family.

The trends in the structure of families with respect to the number of children also were favorable and in accord with the intentions of our population policy.

Changes in Family Size of Families Receiving the Child Allowance

Families Receiving Child Allowances According to Number of Children (in Percent) from 1976 to 1978.

celkem	1	2	3	4	Sa vice
100,0	49,1	43,6	12,1	2,8	1,4
	30,2	44,4	12,4	2,7	1.3
P		100,0 30,2	100,0 30,2 44,4	100,0 39,2 44,4 12,4	100,0 39,2 44,4 12,4 2,7

(1) Year (2) Total (3) Percent of Those Having the Indicated Number of Children

At the present time the family with two children is the most common in this country, the numbers of families with one child or four or more children are decreasing. In recent years the number of families with three children has also risen moderately.

### Socio-economic Measures

The socio-economic measures taken in 1971-1977 have had a great effect on the overall population trends in this country. They had a positive influence on the birth-rate and also helped to improve several aspects of the social position of families with children.

The maternal allowance, introduced in 1970 and expanded in 1971, took root immediately and had a significant effect on increasing the birth-rate. In 1978, an average of 235,000 women took advantage of it, which is equal to approximately 85 percent of those women entitled to it. The maternal allowance has proved to be an important means of improving the provision of assistance to the mothers of infants and significantly supplements the incomes of young families while they are bringing up their youngest children.

When the measure was introduced the allowance amounted to 25.8 percent of the average gross nominal wage of a worker in the socialist sector of the national economy (not including JZD's) and almost 33 percent of the average wage of women.

Increasing the child allowance and the child support benefits in 1973 led to an appreciable increase in the incomes of families with children. In 1978, a total of 2.354 million recipients received payments for 4.278 million children. In 1979 the child allowance was raised again.

State subsidies on loans to young married couples upon the birth of a child are an important contribution at a time when they are establishing their household. Approximately 75 percent of all young married couples now take advantage of them. Since 1 April 1973, when they were instituted, 756,500 couples have obtained such loans. The state subsidy, which is offered in the form of remissions, rises every year and by the end of 1977 amounted to a total of almost 1.2 billion korunas.

The overall rise in costs can be seen in the table below:

Public Assistance to Families with Children; 1971-1978 in billions of korunas

SPOLECENSKA POMOC RODINÁM S DETMI (mld Kés) v letech 1971-1978

		1971	1975	1978
Celkem	(1)	20,36	27,27	30,65
Primá penezitá pomuc	(2)	10,93	15,32	16,59
£ tuhu:	(3)			
přídavky na dnti (vychovné	113	7,53	20.41	11.0
ponezitá pomoc v maigraty		1,28	1.62	2.00
naterský příspěvek	(6)	0.76	8 2.50	8.4.
podpora pri nar. ditate	(7)	0,26	0,57	0,55
státní přisp. k půjěkám	(8)	-	0,24	0,07
supenula	(9)	0,36	0,31	0,36
ostatní (post. pěče, podpor		) .		
ost oketrování člena rodiny	41.1	0,24	0.49	0.69
Naturální formy	(11)	3,60	4,72	5,92
toho:	(12)			
kojanecké ústavy a jesín	(13)	0,52	0.73	0.75
matei, školy a útulky	(14)	0.87	3,66	2,34
Skulni stravování	(15)	9,78	0.84	1,13
domovy mládeže, dětské do	movy	0,06	0,93	0.94
ostatní .	(17)	0,47	0.58	0,76
Neptima pomoc	(18)	6,73	7,23	8,14
z toho:	(19)	, 9		
sleva na dani ze mzdy	(20)	4.50	4,68	5.35
sleva na jizdném	(21)	0.90	0.40	0.60
sleva na najemném	(22)	0.13	0,30	0.30
leva na deiském průmyslovi		3)		
thati * (16)		1,40	1,45	0,30

- 1. Total
- 2. Direct monetary aid
- 3. of which:
- 4. child allowance (child support benefits)
- 5. post-natal allowance
- 6. maternal allowance
- 7. grant upon the birth of a child
- 8. state subsidies on loans
- 9. stipends
- 10. other (homemaking service, assistance in nursing a family member, etc.)
- 11. Aid in Kind
- 12. Of which:
- 13. infant and child-care facilities
- 14. nursery schools and homes
- 15. school meals
- 16. homes for young people, children's homes.
- 17, other
- 18. Indirect Aid
- 19. of which:
- 20. reductions on taxes on income
- 21. reductions on transportation fares
- 22. reductions on rent
- 23. reductions on children's manufactured goods

Despite a significant improvement in the social position of families with children there is a group of families with children in the CSSR whose consumption level is lower than it is for the rest of the population. In 1976 their income level was below 510-671 korunas per child. There were 45-50,000 such families. These are for the most part single-parent families with children, families of disability-benefits recipients with children, and two-parent families in which the wife is not employed. It is thus primarily a matter of families having only one economically active member.

In accordance with the pertinent regulations in effect national committees can grant these families an allowance for supporting their children totaling 400 korunas monthly for each child under 10 and 500 korunas monthly for each child over ten, and welfare payments.

An important social measure is aid provided to allow a parent to care for a sick child at home. At the present time the law provides for a period of three working days, upon a doctor's recommendation. If the illness lasts longer, an organ of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement can grant an additional three working days, and in the case of an unmarried worker an additional nine working days.

Health Care for the Mother and Family with Children

The favorable trends in the birth-rate have increased the demands on the health-care provided for women. We have managed to handle out-patient care

for pregnant women. The number of pregnant women examined before the 16th week of pregnancy has risen to a point where 96-97 percent of all such women are examined during this period. The number of examinations a woman has in the course of her pregnancy has also increased and now averages between 9 and 10.

In accordance with modern medical advances, women whose pregnancies are at risk are sought out, observed and treated to a greater extent than previously. Approximately 20-30 percent of pregnant women prove to have threatened or pathological pregnancies. These conditions require both a longer period of hospitalization for the pregnant women and thus a larger number of beds in the gynecological and maternity wards as well as modern medical technology for these units.

During the years 1973-1975, when the number of births increased markedly, there was an appreciable shortage of obstetric-gynecological beds. In some units it was necessary to shorten the length of the hospital stay after the child was born. The number of obstetric-gynecological beds was increased to from 14,800 to 15,700 in 1974-1976, chiefly by transferring beds from other wards.

Several favorable results have also been achieved in children's health care. Special units within the children's unit in hospitals have been built to care for newborns with low birth-weights and with pathological conditions. Children under one year of age receive check-ups by a doctor on an average of twice a year, and a child-health nurse visits every family with children under one approximately six times a year. Thanks to the compulsary innoculation of preschool children, important results have been achieved in the battle against infectious diseases. In this way childhood illnesses such as tetanus, whooping cough, measles, polio, tuberculosis and diphtheria have been completely eradicated.

In the effort to improve the quality of the population emphasis is placed on putting the modern finding of genetics to use. The care devoted to completing the medical genetics and genetic obstetrics system and the registration of families afflicted with genetic defects has therefore been increased.

Expanding basic pediatric care within the health districts has made it possible to provide complete pediatric care for all children under 15. The care of children with chronic diseases and (physical) defects, especially those being treated on an outpatient basis at pediatric centers or those who have been placed in welfare institutions or special children's homes, is especially important. In 1978 the registration of all handicapped children in the CSSR was completed. It is estimated that by 1980 there will be an average of 1,100 children per doctor.

The Housing Situation of Families with Children and Young Married Couples

The increase in housing construction between 1971 and 1975, when 615,000 housing units were built throughout the CSSR, has had a positive effect on

decreasing the housing shortage and in the general rise in the level of housing. The housing standards of a significant number of families with children also improved. While 31 percent of households with dependent children occupied housing in category I in 1970, this figure had risen to 52.2 percent by 1977. On the other hand, in 1970 27.8 percent of the households with dependent children lived in category IV housing, while in 1977 the figure was only 11.7 percent. There was also an improvement noted in the size of the apartments occupied: in 1970 not quite 50 percent of all families with 3 or more children had apartments of three or more rooms, while in 1977 64.2 percent of them did.

In 1973, upon the recommendation of the Government Population Commission of the Ministries of the Interior of the CSR and the SSR, a policy of granting preference in the assigning of state constructed housing to families with 3 or in certain cases 2 children, and to young married couples was promulgated. The unions of apartment associations of the two republics also issued provisions to support in the current housing policy in allotting association apartments in which the number of children is an important consideration.

The number of children is thus a consideration in allotting almost all apartments. In 1976, over 71 percent of the apartments allotted to families with two children had three or more rooms; over 88 percent of the apartments allotted to families with 3 children were of this size.

Infant Care Centers and Nursery Schools

As a result of the rapid increase in the number of children, the need for places in infant care centers and nursery schools has increased substantially and their capacities have been significantly expanded.

The following trends have been registered in CSSR in the infant care centers of the health sector and in the infant care institutions, the "infant-care-nursery schools," of the educational sector.

	1970	1975	1976	1977	1976
Pocet, mist v poslich(1)					
zdravotnictvi*	66,0	71,0	74,0	77,8	. 82,2
Počet dětí v jeslových (2) odděleních školství* Spolu v jeslích zdravotnictří	1,5	16,9	19,0	21,3	23,5
a v jeslových odděleních (3) Skolství*	77,5	87,9	93,0	99,1	105,7

<sup>(4)\*</sup> Vzhledem k tomu, že u jesli o oduštvi silrovotninimi se piurule projet russi u u jeslových oddelení v oduštvi skolství počet děti, bylo nutna pro celkový prehled jeslové pôce uvěst souhra pošle u edených hledisek.

- 1. Number of places in infant care centers provided by the health-care  $\mathsf{system}^{\bigstar}$
- 2. Number of children in infant care provided by the educational system\*
- Total number in the infant care centers of the health-care and educational systems\*
- 4. \*Since infant-care centers in the health-care system are planned on the basis of number of places and those in the educational system on the number of children, it was necessary to add these figures according to the basis used in order to provide an overall view of care provided in the infant-care center.

The capacity of infant care facilities increased by a total of 17,800 places (20.2 percent) during the first 3 years of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The number of places in plant and association infant care facilities rose from 21,100 in 1970 to 26,600 in 1978, so that plants provided 25.2 percent of the entire number of places in infant care facilities.

Due to children's being ill some of the places remain unfilled, so it proved possible to accommodate more children in a given number of places, the facilities.

In 1978 this figure equalled 113,300 children, 16.3 percent of all children between the ages of 6 months and 3 years.

According to principles adopted by the governments of the CSSR, the CSR and the SSR, a larger number of mini-day-care centers was established, chiefly in the homes of care-takers, where 2,200 children had been placed by the end of 1978.

The number of children under 3, however, has increased even faster, so that there is still a relatively large number of applications for day-care centers that cannot be accepted. The shortage of places in day-care centers prevents many women from returning to work and helping to overcome the labor shortage.

The capacities and the number of appli	ications turned do	wn by	nurs	ery s	chools	1
in the CSSR are as follows:		1970	1975	1976 T fis.	1977	1978
Number of children in nursery schools Number of applications not accepted	Počet dětí v mateřských tkolách Počet nevyřízených řádosti	377,6	475,0 54,9	522,0 63,6	579,5 61,9	629,2

A large number of places is added every year in nursery schools. In five years, through the end of 1975, 97,400 places were added, or 25.8 percent. In the following two years, 1976-1978, an additional 154,200 children were accommodated. The number of places in plant and cooperative nursery schools rose from 37,600 in 1970 to 79,800 in 1978. The goal resulting from the conclusions of the 15th party congress in the area of nursery school capacities for the Sixth Five-Year Plan was not only met but exceeded by 28.5 percent.

Despite this most favorable development there still remain a large number of applications that cannot be accepted in nursery schools. Even though their number declined slightly in 1977, there still remain a relatively large number of unaccepted applications in 1978.

# Baby Food

The production of milk-base foods for nursing infants and small children increased from 6,100 tons in 1970 to 8,400 tons in 1977 and is today produced in satisfactory quantities and varieties. Imports of modern machinery will insure the continuous and uninterrupted supply of all types of such food. The establishment of new plants and production lines has substantially increased the output of fruit and vegetable foods, from 4,100 tons in 1970 to 13,500 tons in 1977. It was primarily deliveries of fruit foods that increased. The production of vegetable and meat-and-vegetable baby foods is still quite limited.

# Rationalizing Housework

In the area of the production of semi-ready food products and ready-to-eat meals for home use, output was further increased and the variety of powdered soups and side-dishes was expanded so that today their supply is quite good. The supply of semi-ready and ready-to-eat foods for home use, is still not completely satisfactory, however. In the CSR such foods are produced in 395 central state and cooperative manufacturing plants where a variety of foods with a guaranteed time limit of 4 to 12 hours are produced using simple, work-intensive technology.

At present supplies of semi-ready and ready-to-eat meals are relatively low as compared to the situation in some developed countries.

Several kinds of vegetables, soups and garnishes, and baked goods are available in markets here. Ready-to-eat meals are almost entirely unavailable. In recent years the output of wrapped (individual) servings of meat has increased somewhat.

The supply of household appliances has continued to improve in various respects. More households are equipped with washing machines, and automatic washing machines have come onto the market. Their supply has been increasing from one year to the next and in 1977 nearly net the demand for them. Innovations have been made in the production of refrigerators. In 1977 the production of refrigerators with larger freezer compartments was begun. Some types of washing machines and refrigerators are being imported. The selection of various kinds of home food-preparation appliances has been expanded and supplies of them have been increased.

During the Fifth Five-Year Plan, services paid for by the population to reduce the amount of work done in the home were also expanded. The increase in the receipts of launderies amounted to 4.8 percent, while dry-cleaning service receipts were up 1.9 percent.

Stabilizing the Family and the Problem of Divorce

Divorce has a deletrious effect on children's upbringing. The rise in the number of divorces in economically developed countries is the result of the objective circumstances of social change, the expansion of industrialization and urbanization and a decline in the number of those working in agriculture. The divorce rate is also affected by marriage having ceased to be an economic bond between the partners, as well as by the emancipation of women and her economic independence of her husband, which makes great demands on the partners in the marriage in every area of family life.

Two-thirds of all divorcing couples have minor children; of these, approximately 58 percent of the marriages have one child and 34 percent have two children. It is an important fact that it is to a great extent young married couples who obtain divorces. For a number of years now couples who divorce before their fifth anniversary have accounted for 36 percent of all divorces granted. Couples married between 5 and 15 years account for 40 percent and those married 15 years or more for 24 percent of all divorces.

The marriage and pre-marital counseling services established by the district and regional national committees contribute to solving marriage-related problems. At the present time there are 36 such facilities in the CSR and 37 in the SSR, and it is envisaged that there will be one in every district in the CSR by 1985 and by 1980 in the SSR. In 1976 the counseling services and their experts solved 8,500 marriage problems. The number of cases solved completely or at least partially is estimated at 50 percent.

Ideological-moral Preparation for Marriage and Parenthood

So that the preparation for marriage and parenthood offered in all spheres and in all educational settings be developed in accordance with our population policy, the Government Population Commission in 1972 approved the major goals and methods of preparation for parenthood. According to these goals the purpose of such preparation is to insure that healthy and well-brought-up children occupy the most important place in their parents scale of values and their entire lives, that suitable moral and emotional attitudes for this be created, and that the ideal family be considered the one with either two or three children. The governments of the CSR and the SSR also adopted in 1972 a program of preparation for marriage and parenthood which increased the role of the central organs and the public organizations. The national committees have directed their efforts and those of their facilities toward dealing with the problems of married and family life.

Broadcasts and programs that vividly portray the value children give to one's life gradually increased and created favorable conditions for bringing up children in families. Articles on the subject were also often published in the press. Popular short films were produced as well as some act of films. Throughout the media educational activity with respect to children and the family was intensified.

In the schools a new program of preparation for parenthood was worked out so that this preparation not be restricted merely to information on human physiology and hygiene. The curricula were supplemented in this regard in the schools at various levels. Issues involved in preparation for marriage and parenthood were incorporated into the training of future teachers and refresher training for school teachers, inspectors and principals. The results of this teaching have not yet, been verified, however.

The cultural-educational apparatus was activated and new forms of extrascholastic training were instituted. Training for marriage and parenthood was aimed at adolescents between 15 and 18 years of age, primarily in places where they spent their free time. A new series of popular scientific publications was brought out on preparing for marriage and parenthood, and these subjects are also more frequently treated now in works of fiction. The Unions of Creative Artists of the CSR and the SSR have begun a number of programs for creations of the theme of the family, the mother, and children.

Health care to prepare young women for bearing and caring for children has been intensified and expanded.

The Union of Czechoslovak Women has included a broad range of issues related to parenthood and the life and problems of families in their educational activities. The Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement has dealt with creating favorable conditions to allow working women to fulfill their maternal function. The Union of Cooperative Farmers of the CSR has also organized to train the young generation.

The presidium of the central committee of the National Front in March 1977 discussed and approved intensifying cooperation between the organizations of the National Front and federal bodies in the area of social policy, which includes preparation for marriage and responsible parenthood. The organizations of the National Front adopted plans of their own in the area of educational activity.

The results achieved in the area of preparation for marriage and parenthood have contributed to the creation of a receptive attitude on the part of the public. The high divorce rate of young married couples and the rise in abortions obtained by young women, however, indicated that there are certain deficiencies in the population's upbringing, especially that of the younger generation, for married life and for fulfilling the tasks of the family is the rearing of children. For this reason a new program was drafted and in 1976 was approved by the Government Population Commission for preparing (young people) for marriage and parenthood. This program better meets the current demographic situation and the needs of society.

The program includes the development of positive characterological traits of children in the family and at school, the preparation of adolescents for a considered choice of marriage partner, better arrangements for the social

life of adolescents, and the education of husbands and wives for married life and of young parents for rearing their children.

In accordance with the resolution of the Government Population Commission, individual state organs and social organizations have developed their own plans for educational efforts through 1980, especially in the area of education, culture, health care, welfare and within the member organizations of the National Front. The programs are gradually being put into operation, but it will be necessary to verify and improve their results and the effectiveness of this educational activity.

Survey of Child Allowances in 1978 as Compared to 1977

The number of child-allowance recipients in the CSSR totaled approximately 2,187,600 in 1978, that is, 27,200 (1.26 percent) more than in 1977. If we add to this figure the number of those receiving child support benefits (157,800 persons), the total number of recipients increases to 2,345,400. Of the total number of those receiving child allowances, 1,488,300 lived in the CSR (68 percent) and 699,300 in the SSR (32 percent). In both republics the number of recipients increased.

The Structure of Families in the CSSR Receiving Child Allowances in 1978, broken down by major socio-professional groups and number of children in the family.

STRUKTURA RUDIN PRIJENCU PPID VKU NA DETI v CSSR podie bisvaich sacioprofessich skupin' a podie poctu deti v rudine v ruca 1978

(1)	Prijemsi	(2) elkem absolutat	(3)	(4),	toko s 2	počlem 3	deti (	*1 (5)
6	Ceiken:	2 107 567	100	24,2	45,3	12,6	2,7	1,2
8	USNP	8 995 704	100	36,6	45,5	12,1	2,5	1,1
9	JZD + SH	151 523	100	29,6	42,6	20,0	5,4	2,4
10	VD	49 340	. 100	40,8	44,9	11,2	2,2	0,9
11	UDZ	157 #04	100	61,2	20,6	6,3	2,5	1,4

12. OSNE — Outrains aprove arms constant projected BOH use sugke and secretary in secularity from extend — its control state 13 120 + 541 — clanded 120, same tothe haspocketed related a week -14 VD — clander agreench drubben

13 +3 - Claidice vyrotnich drubsten 403 - Chad duchadnicho zulozpecent nykusæm potensiele decho då physice nechoweko k dúchadúru

## Key:

- 1. Recipients
- 2. Total number
- 3. in percent
- 4. the percent of (3) having the indicated number of children
- 5. 5 and over

- 6. Total
- 7. Of which:
- 8. Central Administration of Health Insurance Agencies
- 9. JZD members and independent farmers and artists
- 10. Members of Producing cooperatives
- 11. Office of Income Security
- 12. The Central Administration of Health Insurance Agencies of the ROH gives the figure for the group of workers in the socialist sector, including state farms.
- 13. Members of JZD and independent farmers and artists
- 14. Members of producing cooperatives
- 15. The Office of Income Security gives the figure of those receiving benefits and child support benefits

The average number of dependent children per family in the CSSR was 1.84 in 1978, 1.77 in the CSR and 2.00 in the SSR. This number is to all appearances increasing.

The average number of dependent children in families receiving child support benefits at the end of 1977 was 1.56 children in the CSSR, 1.48 in the CSR and 1.71 in the SSR and thus is lower than the average number of children in families receiving child allowances.

The Number of Dependent Children in the CSSR and Changes in the Number of Children for whom the Child Allowance is Paid

The child allowance was paid for approximately 4,030,100 children in the CSSR in 1978, that is, for 66,500 more children than in 1977, for an increase of 1.7 percent. If we add to this figure the number of children for whom child support was paid, 248,000 children, the total comes to 4,278,100 children, which is 74,500 children more than the total for whom child allowances and child support was paid in 1977.

Of the total number of children for whom child allowances were paid, 2,631,000 were from the CSR (75.3 percent) and 1,399,000 were from the SSR (34.7 percent). The number of children for whom allowances were paid was 50,700 higher than in 1977 in the CSR (1.96 percent) and 15,800 higher than in 1977 in the SSR (1.14 percent).

Comparison of the Number of Children for whom Child Allowances and Child Support Were Paid from 1976 to 1978 (in thousands)

[see next page for chart]

Srovnání počtu dětí, na které byly vypláceny přídavky na dětí a výchovné v letech 1976 až 1978 (v tis.)

		₹ (2	)	₹ (4)		
	(1)	Počet dětí, na nět byly vypláceny příde ne deti	(3)	Celkový počet na něž byly vypláceny přída a výchovné k důchodům	(5)	
	1976	3889,3	100	4125,3	100	
CSSR	1977	3963,6	101,8	4205,6	101,9	
	1978	4030,1	103,6	4278,1	103,7	
	1976	2525,2	100	2653,2	100	
CSR	1977	2580,4	102,2	2725,4	102,7	
	1978	2631,1	104,2	2778,1	104,7	
	1976	1364,2	100	1472,1	100	
SSR	1977	1363,2	101,4	1480,2	100,5	
	1978	1399,1	102,6	1500,0	101,6	

## Key:

- 1. Year
- 2. Number of children for whom child allowances were paid
- 3. In percent
- 4. Number of children for whom child allowances and child support were paid
- 5. In percent

In connection with the facts about the recipients of the child allowance we can also mention changes in the number of children for whom the recipients obtain an additional payment of 300 korunas a month because of the child's disability. In 1978 this additional payment was paid for 19,600 children, which is approximately 1,600 (8.9 percent) higher than it was in 1977.

The Percent of the Total Number of Children for whom the Disability Payment was paid in 1977

Podíl dětí, na něž jsou vypláceny přínlatky k přídavkům z důvodu invalidity, z crikového počtu dětí v letech 1977 až 1978, v %

	ČSSR		C	SR .	SSR	
	1977	1978	1977	1978	1977	1976
Celkem:	0,45	0,49	0,41	0,44	0,53	0,57
USNP	0,45	0,49	0,41	0,44	0,53	0,57
JZD+SH	0,45	0,48	0,39	0,41	0,52	0,57
VD	0,50	0,52	0,44	0,51	0 31	0,53

# Key:

- 1. Total
- 2. Of which:
- 3. ROH Central Administral of Health Insurance
- 4. JZD-members and independent farmers and artists
- 5. Members of producing cooperatives

As can be seen from the figures, the percent of children for whom the disability payment was granted increased in all groups except for the members of production cooperatives in the SSR.

The Upbringing, Education, and Free Time of Children and Young People

A wide range of educational choices is available to all children in the CSSR for preparing for life and work in a developed socialist society. For all children without distinction there is a universal school education, followed by trade school, high school and the universities. Compulsory school attendance in the CSSR is until 15 years of age and has now been extended to 16 years.

Elementary, Secondary Schools and Universities

At the beginning of the 1977-1978 school year there was a total of 7,910 basic nine-year schools in the CSSR with more than 71,000 classes; 1,900,000 pupils were studying in almost 75,000 schoolrooms.

In the gymnazia and secondary vocational schools the number of pupils doubled between 1945-46 and 1975/76, so that by 1975-76, 43.2 percent of these graduating from the elementary schools were studying at them. A revolutionary change has been achieved in the education of girls and women who now account for more than 58 percent of the students in secondary and secondary vocational schools and 42 percent of all university students.

The number of apprentices in trade schools has tripled. In the 1975-76 school-year 56 percent of those graduating from elementary school were accepted into trade schools. We have now achieved a situation where the majority of young people obtain specialized training after finishing elementary school and only a small, ever decreasing number go directly to work. In the 1975/76 school year the figure was 5.2 percent.

A further development in our educational system at the present time is the creation of conditions that by 1984 will enable all our young people to obtain a 10-year secondary education, so that ever more children can obtain a complete secondary education with a diploma, and so that sometime in the future all young people will complete their preparation for their future occupation in 18 years. This will open the door to university study still wider.

In 1948 new universities were established in a number of cities. In 1938 there were 19,000 students in the universities of Czechoslovakia; in 1977/78 there were over 134,000.

This society guarantees to every child who chooses professional training in accordance with his talents and inclinations that he will be able to fully employ the abilities and knowledge he has acquired in his work.

The Czechoslovak school system also provides for the upbringing and training of children and young people with special needs. Nursery schools, basic and secondary schools have been established for the ill and handicapped and for children with special needs where they are provided with emotional, intellectual, language and physical support and training. In these schools they concentrate on developing the children's knowledge and skills to the extent of their ability and on preparing them for work and for life.

All forms of education are free; textbooks and learning aids are provided free to students. These measures are supplemented by an extensive system of stipends, free preventative care and medical treatment by pediatricians and doctors specializing in the care of adolescents, by low-cost dormitory accommodations, fare reductions, subsidies for school meals etc.

## The Child and His Free Time

The society provides the means for the child to use his free time to develop and employ his abilities, interests, to demonstrate his talents and to further increase his knowledge. The most widespread form of caring for children outside of school hours in through the school groups and clubs found in most schools. In 1977/1978 360,000 pupils attended such groups.

The folk art schools, which provide 200,000 children with fundamental instruction and training in the arts--music, dance, drama and graphic and plastic art, specifically supplement school lessons.

A great deal of attention is devoted to children's physical education and participation in sports. Thousands of playgrounds and hundreds of stadiums and other facilities have been built for them. Every year more than 340,000 children attend nature schools or go on ski trips organized by the schools.

#### The Pioneer Organization

In the area of educational activity, the Pioneer Organization of the Union of Socialist Youth holds the first place after academic instruction. The Pioneer Organization is a unified social organization of Czechoslovak children. The basic function of the Pioneers is character formation, training children how to work and how to relate to other children in groups, and to increase their interest in art, develop their abilities and interest in physical education, sports, and travel, in public affairs, in international events and in science and technology.

As an organization for children, the Pioneer Organization of the Union of Socialist Youth is an irreplaceable component in the overall educational system of our socialist society.

Within the Pioneers, adult leadership is systematically combined with participation by the children which increases in extent and importance with the children's age.

The aktiv of Pioneer groups and sections and the formation of Pioneer groups is based on this principal. Today over 76 percent of all children of Pioneer age belong to the Pioneers. Pioneer groups have been established in almost every elementary school in the CSSR.

The varied and interesting activities of Pioneer groups and squads are continually increasing. Every year the number of children attending Pioneer camps in this country and international peace camps is higher. In 1970, 275,700 children participated in these activities while in 1978 the number was 400,000.

The SSM Pioneer Organization prepares children for living in a community. Through their membership in the Pioneers children become active participants in public events and at the same time both the subject and the object of educational activity.

The SSM Pioneer Organization is observing the 30th anniversary of its founding this year and the celebrations of this anniversary are united with the activities this country is organizing in observance of the International Year of the Child.

Care for Children with Health Problems and those Not Living With Their Families

The role of the parents and of the environment in which a child grows up, which introduces him to the world and further knowledge, is primary and irreplaceable in creating the condition for his well-rounded development. Our society helps families with dependent children to fulfill this responsible, demanding function by providing both material aid and various kinds of services.

In return for this active assistance to families with children our state has the right to require parents to bring up their children properly, in a way in the best interests of the child and of society. If the parents do not fulfill their obligations in the proper way, certain disciplinary actions can be taken against them in either the welfare or the legal sphere, or the courts may intervene.

At the present time our society provides substitute forms of child care such as adoption, custody, entrusting the child to the care of another citizen, guardianship, foster care, and institutional care. This diversity of forms is desirable, since it answers the diverse needs of the children for whom care must be arranged.

In recent years over 8,000 children a year have been removed from their families by court decisions. Approximately 4,200 of these children go to collective facilities for children managed by the school and health systems; a lesser number go to welfare institutions as a result of health problems. Around 2,500 children are adopted by new parents, and around 1,000 children a year enter foster homes. After adoption, institutional care is the most common form of alternative care, for here society can exert not only organizational, but more importantly, ideological control as well.

Socialist society purposefully and systematically creates the conditions for the harmonious development of the family and the raising of children. Nevertheless, a number of factors, survivals of the past, are at work in people's minds to prevent these harmonious conditions from being created in some families, and thus the conditions do not exist for the children's successful emotional development and the satisfaction of their material needs. A disruptive environment primarily affects the child's psychology, and has a marked effect on how he acts in the community, at school, and later on at work. A breakdown in the family's ability to raise their children occurs most often as a result of the alcoholism of one or both parents, or when a crisis occurs in the marriage which the parents are not able to resolve while meeting their responsibilities to their children, or in families in which a member of the family has committed a crime, in families which do not conform to society, in single-parent families, etc.

Children must be provided with circumstances allowing for their proper upbringing from the very earliest age. Institutional care for children under three is provided in the infant-care centers and children's homes run by the Ministries of Health Care of the CSR and the SSR. Over 4500 children have been placed in more than 80 facilities. If the child has been placed in a facility by court order on the basis of the regulations concerning institutional care, efforts are made, when the necessary conditions are met, to provide him with a permanent place to grow up, by placing him in the care of another citizen, whether through adoption, guardianship or foster care.

The Ministries of Education of the CSR and the SSR provide institutional care for children between the ages of 3 and 18, whether of normal intelligence, with learning problems, educably retarded or mentally ill, Children's homes are intended for these of normal mentality. Care for children and young people with learning problems is provided in training institutions for children. There are over 170 children's homes with more than 7,000 children in the CSSR. Some of these are residential facilities and some are family-type arrangements. There are nearly 4,000 more places in over 70 specialized institutions known as training institutes for children, training institutes for young people, training institutes for children and youths, diagnostic institutes for children, diagnostic institutes for young people, and treatment facilities.

Children's homes of the dormitory type are intended for short-term stays, generally those of less than two years.

In these homes the family is encouraged to maintain contact with the child, and as soon as the reasons for his being at the children's home no longer exist the child returns to his family.

Children's homes of the family type are intended for permanent or longterm residence, and are meant to satisfy the child's need for a natural environment in which to grow up on a permanent basis and to the greatest extent possible.

The level of care provided in the children's homes is good and enables the children to participate to the extent they are able in society. It must be improved however, particularly for those children living in the institutions on a long-term basis. This means:

- -- that not only the care provided, but the surroundings at the childrens homes as well should resemble those of a family environment as closely as possible, so that the children in them can be prepared for living independently in our socialist society;
- -that children should be cared for at a single institution for the entire period of their stay;
- -- that siblings should be cared for in the same institution, even in cases where they attend different types of schools;
- -- that children should be placed in appropriate institutions on the basis of age, probable length of stay, relationship to their families, etc.;
- -- that a complete range of services should be provided for children at the homes who will not be able to return to their own families, for either educational or social reasons, after completing their compulsory schooling, that is, for children over 18 until they have completed their training for their future occupation, i. e., until they are "socially independent."

The department of labor and social affairs provides institutional care for a significant number of handicapped children. In contrast to the types discussed above, the children placed in these institutions are generally there at the request of their parents, who are unable to provide the care they need in a home environment. Physically handicapped children between 3 and 18 years of age and non-educable, mentally-retarded children with medium to severe retardation between the ages of 3 and 26 are placed in such institutions. There are over 12,000 places in the 110 institutions of this category. Their professional and methodological administration is provided by the Ministries of Labor and Social Affairs of the CSR and the SSR.

The institutes are divided into those for physically handicapped young people, those for educable physically and mentally handicapped young people, those for non-educable mentally handicapped young people, and facilities for

the day care of non-educable mentally handicapped young people. In institutes for educable children with multiple handicaps, schooling is provided by the department of education.

Institutionalization is traditionally one of the basic and most extreme forms of care and is considered when a physical handicap cannot be dealt with by other means, such as preventative medical care, and when the care necessary cannot be provided in his former environment, particularly within his family, even when various services or financial assistance are offered.

The institutions of social welfare provide all-round care for children and young people with serious physical and mental handicaps. The institutions provide complete care for their residents, health care including rehabilitation to the extent possible, cultural activities, academic and non-academic instruction, training for an occupation or useful employment within the physical and mental capacity of the patient.

The institutions of social welfare are at present fulfilling their duties very well, even though here too we must seek other, even more suitable forms.

Many children, however, because of their emotional makeup are not suited to life in a collective facility; they adapt only with difficulty to the environment of a children's home and require individual care to develop successfully. That is why we also have forms of what is called substitute family care.

We consider raising a child in an adoptive family the best form of substitute care. Under these conditions a bond develops which is equivalent in all respects to that existing between biological parent and child. Through adoption a child gains a new home, he grows up feeling that he belongs to someone, that someone really loves him and that there is someone he can always turn to. The advantages of adoption can also be seen in retarded children who, if they are adopted at an early age, can sometimes achieve a level exceeding the average. Adoptive parents are able to fulfill their desire for children, to fulfill themselves in performing their parental functions, to find meaning in life and to escape the problems of a childless marriage.

Essentially the same principles hold for foster care as do for adoption, but some provisions are different and the conditions are not as stringent. The child enters a new family, but his relation to his original family is not entirely severed, for his biological parents retain the fundamental parental rights and also have certain obligations toward him, in particular, they must contribute to the cost of his upbringing. These payments, however, they remit to the competent district national committee, which provides the child with an allotment to cover his needs. A child who meets the requirements for adoption cannot be considered for foster care, since adoption is definitely preferred, nor can a child who requires institutional

Further Forms of Community Services for the Family with Children

Other problems concerning the life of the family and children are also dealt with systematically. It has been discovered in carefully analyzing the population problem that the birth-rate is influenced by a number of issues and factors which it will be necessary to investigate. It was not only a question of financial assistance for families with children and mothers following the birth of a child, but also of such matters as increasing the numbers of infant care centers and nursery schools, public education, etc. The Government Population Commission is investigating how all the governmental agencies are carrying out their tasks in this area and is coordinating efforts in the different sectors that contribute to creating good living conditions for families with children.

The Government Population Commission is dealing with many different issues. One of the most important of these is that of participation in insuring the development of infant care centers and nursery schools, the production of infant and children's food and children's goods, educating the public for married life, preparation for parenthood, and also various healthcare issues, for example the activities of the commission on abortions, various steps taken to rationalize housework, and solving the housing problem and problems of population research.

CSSR Deputy Prelier M. Lucan has been named chairman of the Government Population Commission. The commission has 30 members, the heads of various ministries, the communications media, and the foremost experts in their fields, for example, pediatrics. Every year they hold three or four plenary sessions where the reports from the ministries about the success they are having in fulfilling the government-assigned tasks concerned with the care of the family with children are critically reviewed. The commission at the same time accepts recommendations as to actions individual government representatives should take.

Various working groups have also been formed within the commission that regularly deal with particular problems. There are working groups for economic matters, for health matters, for parenthood training, for housing policy, for infant and children's food, and for research coordination. In the working groups it has been possible to bring together dozens of experts whose interest and dedication have made it possible to solve various problems to the best advantage of families with children. An important role in this activity is also played by the secretariat of the Government Population Commission, which prepares and organizes the sessions of the Government Population Commission and the activities of the working groups, and also, with the participation of the leading workers of the Government Population Commission, handles a number of matters that cannot be deferred.

As a result of all the measures of our population policy, there has recently been a change in demographic trends. Ever since 1974, when 19.8 children per 1,000 of population were born in the CSR, the CSSR has been first in this indicator in Europe. This insures a moderate increase in population in the future as well. A favorable change can also be observed in the composition of families with children.

These population trends in the CSSR were the result partly of new socioeconomic measures, partly of the entire population policy and the overall
favorable developments social and economic development of the CSSR, and partly
of the favorable changes in the age composition of young women born in the
early post-war years. The most important problem of population policy in
the CSSR now is that of how to provide all the conditions for the favorable
development and growth of the large number of children born in recent years.

8805

CSO: 2400

#### CPSL ORGAN VIEWS DISTORTIONS OF HISTORIOGRAPHY IN FIFTIES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Sep 79 p 5 AU

[Article by Jiri Dvoran of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava: "The Struggle for a Scientific View of the Slovak National Uprising; The Historians' Responsibility for a Truthful Study of the Past"]

[Excerpts] Marxist-Leninist historiography in Czechoslovakia has its own history, which is instructive in many respects and not without significance for the present. We believe that the study of historical awareness as shaped by the impact of the findings of Marxist historiography is far from being an end in itself.

Society's historical awareness about the Slovak national uprising is formed on the basis of scientific and truthful findings and their generalization. We do not forget, however, that in a certain period this awareness was formed from other [than scientific and truthful] positions and that the reversals in the evaluation of the uprising and its organizers cast not only doubt on the scientific character of historiography but also reduced the effectiveness of its influence within society. We believe that it is the obligation of Marxist historical science to consider this aspect of the matter.

The development of Marxist historiography of the Slovak national uprising reflected in its own way the development of Marxist historiography as a science as such. The objective process of the gradually deepening scientific look into the past--closely connected with the development of methodology of historical science, with the accessibility of sources, with the situation in terms of cadres and so forth--has been reflected in it. In the course of this development the Slovak national uprising quite logically became one of the key priorities of historical research.

We cannot, however, fail to stress that apart from the objectively founded development of the Marxist historiography's views on the uprising, the portrayal of the Slovak national uprising--particularly after the year 1950--was also affected and even deformed by subjective infringements which--in their consequences--set historiography against truth and adapted and adjusted the interpretation of the individual aspects of the uprising to

alleged ideological-political needs. The CPCZ Central Committee session of December 1963, which stressed that the deformed evaluation of the Slovak national uprising was a concrete consequence of the construed and absolutely unfounded accusations of some leading CPSL officials of so-called bourgeois-nationalistic deviation, also pointed to the Czechoslovak historians' share in the responsibility for this. The all-state conference of Slovak and Czech historians of 1964 also pointed to the other side of the matter, to the fact that the historians "were writing according to official line, believed the theses they received and wrote in accordance with documents available to them."

In connection with the 35th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising it must be stressed that just as in the 1968-69 period, even today no one can succeed who would like to use these facts against socialism, the Communist Party and Marxist-Leninist historiography. Communists and our party were in the forefront of the struggle to correct personal wrongdoings and deformed ideological-political viewpoints and evaluations. Historiography also contributed to this process in its way by providing at the beginning of the sixtles a great deal of evidence about the nonscientific and construed character of the previous evaluations of some aspects of the uprising, particularly of the question of the illegal fifth CPSL leadership. It was our party which -- at Central Committee sessions in April and especially in December 1963--critically examined and reevaluated these problems, presented the scope for further development of the Marxist historiography of the Slovak national uprising and gave an impetus to a much broader and deeper scientific research of the uprising and the entire national liberation struggle.

The increasing crisis trends in our party and society at the end of the sixties affected, to a considerable degree, the sphere of social sciences, including historiography, and had an adverse impact on the research and interpretation of the Slovak national uprising. In their work and political activity a part of Slovak and Czech historians even went over to the position of the class enemy. After the coming of the new CPCZ leadership led by G. Husak in April 1969, the Marxist-Leninist front of historians rejected their interpretation of the Slovak national uprising, proceeding from nonclass, antiparty and anti-Soviet poultions. The victory of the Marxist-Leninist forces, which have led the party and society out of the deep crisis also opened a new realm for the development of our historiography.

CSO: 2400

# CSR MINISTER ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' SOCIALIST EDUCATION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Oct 79 p 3 AU

[Article by Milan Vondruska, minister of education of the Czech Socialist Republic: "University Is Not the End of Studies; All-Round Training of Future Specialists"]

[Excerpts] The young people who enroll in university-level schools are naturally inquisitive and long to master the foundations of sciences. The overwhelming majority of them are honestly committed and display initiative and activity. However, they do not know capitalism from their own experience and frequently regard our socialist present and its benefits and the unceasing endeavor of millions of working people for its further upsurge and security as a matter of course. It is true that experience is something that is difficult to convey but is all the more necessary in educating the young generation in the spirit of the ideas of scientific socialism to implement class attitude and to consistently take into account the socioeconomic environment from which the student originates and that shaped substantially his personality. The new socialist intelligentsia graduating from our universities must be one in their minds and hearts with the workers class as an inseparable part of the creative current of those who build the society of advanced socialism.

Choice of the Field of Study in Harmony With All-Social Needs

It is, above all, of utmost importance to choose the correct field of study. This year we were confronted with a quite extraordinary and disproportionately high interest in the study of, above all, medicine and law. We have succeeded in enlisting students for technical fields of studies but as far as interest is concerned these fields of study are still behind those taught at universities where only a minority of all applicants can be accepted and thus satisfied. Asse who are not accepted, for objective reasons, then appeal against the decision and if their appeals are not positively settled they write literally heart-rending letters to the Ministry of Education, describing how they have been preparing themselves from their very childhood for the career of

a physician or a lawyer and that they cannot imagine a life in a different profession.

Young people and frequently also their parents need more knowledge about other fields of study and a more self-critical introspection, which should be both provided by secondary schools. It is inadmissible that many secondary school students (among them frequently mediocre and weaker pupils) receive from their schools a recommendation "only" for the study of medicine, law, philosophy, agriculture and other so-called attractive fields. Secondary schools and gymnasiums in particular must to a much greater degree promote their students' interest in technology, physics, chemistry and other disciplines closely connected with scientific-technical progress, which have a great future.

The education of students to socialist awareness reveals that they have quite good knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism but that they frequently lack a more profound knowledge of the topical issues of domestic and international policy. That is why we must see to it that the Marxist-Leninist subjects be taught and discussed in a lively and topical manner, in relation to the problems of the specialized field of study and adequately to the students' perception and practical experiences. They must have an impact not only on the minds but also on the emotions of the young people. In the student collective and in the schooling and educational process we often lack the cultivation of emotions and morale as well as a good quality education to socialist patriotism, internationalism and a socialist attitude to work and education to socialist statehood. Some of these phenomena do not have to be dramatized but neither can they be overlooked. It is a fact that apart from thousands of examples of dedicated student work-during summertime activities, in scientific and professional student activities and the like-there are also individual students who are indifferent, who are content with mediocre study results and have an easy life, being surrounded by the "excessive solicitude" of their parents. We must not reconcile ourselves to those facts in political-educational work at the universities because those individual cases of lack of discipline and poor working morale do little honor to the absolute majority of other students. Considerable tasks are here in store for pedagogues and the students themselves, with the assistance of the Socialist Youth Union.

CSO: 2400

#### BRIEFS

SWISS DIPLOMAT EXPELLED--Prague, Oct. 2, (AFP)--Czechoslovakia has expelled the Swiss convul here for violating international rules giving him the right to remain in the country as a diplomat, an official communique said here today. The announcement follows the expulsion by Switzerland at the end of last week of the second secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Bern on charges of spying. The communique here however gave no details of the accusations against the Swiss consul, Pieralberto Giannola. Czechoslovakia last expelled foreign diplomats in March and April 1972 when the second secretary at the Italian Embassy here and the third secretary at the French Embassy were ordered to leave the country following similar measures against Czechoslovak diplomats abroad. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 2053 GMT 2 Oct 79 NC]

NEW AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR--Prague--New Austrian ambassador to Czechoslovakia Heinz Weinberger presented on Wednesday his credentials to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak. During their talks, Gustav Husak and Heinz Weinberger noted that no obstacles exist to the further development of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations. They pointed out the significance of the systematic strengthening of these relations on the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs, as also affirmed during the recent official visit by the Austrian president to Czechslovakia. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 19 Sep 79 LD]

NEW AMBASSADORS--Prague, 5 Sept (CTK)--President Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia received today new ambassadors to Czechoslovakia--Johnnes Petrus Louhanapessy of Indonesia, Yahya Mo'tamed-Vaziri of Iran and Bengt Rosio of Sweden, who handed him their credentials. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1730 GMT 5 Sep 79 LD] GUINEAN-BISSAU MINISTER--On 13 September Andrej Barcak, CSSR minister of foreign trade, received in Brno, on the occasion of the international engineering fair, a government delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, led by Armando Ramos, commissioner of commerce and industry. The two officials discussed the possibilities for Czechoslovak exports of capital investment complexes. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 70 p 1]

HUSAK MEETS MEXICAN ENVOY--President of the Republic Gustav Husak today at Prague Castle received (Roberto Callas Leone), ambassador of the United Mexican States to Czechoslovakia, for an inaugural audience. They both reviewed the level so far of bilateral relations which have wide prospects of all-round development in the interest of peoples of both countries. They noted with satisfaction that the United Mexican States and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic adopt, in the spirit of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence, identical or close positions on a number of international questions, including the support of national liberation struggles. [Excerpt] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 19 Sep 79 LD]

STUDENT DELEGATION TO HANOI--On the invitation of the Central Committee [CC] of the Ho Chi Minh Union of the Communist Youth, the People's Revolutionary Youth Union of Laos CC, and the Cambodian Unified Front for National Salvation, a delegation of the International Student Union left Prague for Hanoi, Vietnam, and Phnom Penh yesterday, led by the International Student Union chairman and member of presidium of the Socialist Youth Union CC, M. Stepan. The International Student Union campaign, the Student Center for Vietnam, initiated by the International Student Union, will be officially promulgated on this occasion. [Excerpt] [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 25 Sep 79 p 1]

SYRIAN YOUTH DELEGATION DEPARTS--A delegation of the Union of Syrian Revolutionary Youth, led by Central Committee secretary Said Satli, left Prague for home on 12 September. The Syrians attended the Days of Friendship of the Czechoslovak-Syrian Youth. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Sep 79 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

## PROBLEMS, REQUIREMENTS IN DEVELOPING MASS CONSCIOUSNESS DISCUSSED

# Planning of Mass Consciousness

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 27 No 7, Jul 79 signed to press 4 May 79 pp 818-828

[Article by Dr Alfons Kahsnitz, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, in preparation for Fifth CDR Philosophers Congress: "Problems of Planning the Development of Consciousness in Developed Socialist Society." A translation of the Schliwa article cited in footnote 9 is published in JPRS 71101, 11 May 78 No 1533 of this series pp 42-56]

# [Text] I

One of the essential advantages the communist society has over all preceding forms of society lies in the conscious shaping of its social relations and relationships. This decisive advantage has to do, first of all, with the historically new quality of the historic process in this form of society. Because the communist form of society is based on the public ownership in the means of production, and exploitation and suppression, as well as class antagonism, are eliminated, the need for and the possibility of unbroken and systematic development of all the main areas and fundamental aspects of public life, of social conditions and relations, are brought to realization. This systematic quality of social development is characteristic of the communist form of society and is brought to realization by proceeding from the needs of society and each of its members. Therein lies what is typical of the new social order in which "the interest, the well-being, the happiness of each individual belongs inseparably together with that of his fellowmen."

Second, the historic advantage of the communist form of society has its roots in the creative initiative and activity of the workers class and all working people, in their increasing awareness. Even socialism, as the lower phase of the communist society, makes possible and requires mass initiative, the society-shaping strength of the people's masses in all domains of public life, aiming at a satisfaction of needs that is as comprehensive as possible, at "assuring the greatest well-being and free all-round development of all

members of society."<sup>2</sup> This development with its demanding objectives has its real roots in that the interests of the working people are identical. "Without identity of interests," Friedrich Engels wrote, "there can be no identity of goals, let alone identity of action."<sup>3</sup>

Through the conscious and systematic development of society and through constantly improving it, we succeed in shaping social conditions and relations in such a way that the outcome of what the working people do shows a basic trend that increasingly coincides with the desired intentions, that is, conforms with the interests of the workers class and all working people, and thus also with the interests of each individual.

The demands made on the continued shaping of developed socialist society and the general rules and propagation of the experiences gathered up to now bring out clearly that the systematic development of socialist consciousness and the planning of that process are an inseparable component of overall social management and planning. Because socialist society is an organic whole of productive forces, socialist production relations and socialist social superstructure, it can develop smoothly and successfully only if it is managed and planned as an organic whole.

On the basis of a comprehensive objective analysis of the inevitable interrelations between productive forces and production relations, of the dialectic
between base and superstructure, and between politics, economics and ideology,
it became possible for the SED to arrive at an increasingly more precise
determination of the actual role socialist consciousness plays in social
development and to provide the working people with great socialist awareness.
That is of great importance inasmuch as underrating social consciousness
in historic development is no less harmful than absolutizing it. Not until
we have accurately understood its role is there a possibility for reaching
a higher stage of awareness and organization and for properly working out
the realistic goals and tasks for society as a whole and for its different
public domains.

Thanks to its consistently materialistic approach to planning social development and the extensive use of science data, through the mechanism and mode of effect social laws have on the systematic development of socialist consciousness, the SED succeeded, within a historically relatively brief span of time, in overcoming many residues of the past in men's consciousness, shaping the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook in a large part of the population, and achieving significant advances in instilling communist morality, first and foremost in the workers class. From its ranks and from the class of the cooperative farmers there arose a new intelligentsia, loyally devoted to the cause of socialism. The socialist educational system is laying the cornerstone for that in the young of all classes and strata. Socialist culture also significantly contributes to the systematic formation and development of socialist consciousness, is in fact indispensable for it.

Nearly three decades of successful development of socialist consciousness became possible because the SED leadership regularly dealt with these problems. The ideological tasks were rendered more precise "in accordance with uneven states of consciousness, the specific interests, the historic traditions, the habitual modes of living, the working conditions and the social positions of the classes, strata and social groups."5 On the basis of systematic and extensive analytic activity by the party organizations, the state organs and the mass organizations, "long-term programs for the socialist consciousness development of all working people" were worked out. "Their aim was to make the world-outlook of the workers class prevail as the ruling ideology of the GDR."6 This practice has been carried on with continuity on an ever higher level. Further political work is concerned with "a clear orientation for performance development over long range and with making sure that the benefit of labor will constantly improve. This also means constantly seeking more of an improvement in working and living conditions and developing a varied intellectual-cultural life."7

To further improving the theory and practice in the management and planning of consciousness development a number of questions are of special interest: What is the object in the planning of consciousness development? Which objective and subjective factors affect this planning? What is further to be planned in the field of consciousness development? Which specifics in social consciousness have to be taken into account in this planning? Why is the planning of consciousness development so important to the further shaping of developed socialist society? The present article wishes to induce answers to those questions.

II

For determining the object in the planning of consciousness development a consistent materialist approach is crucial. Socialist social consciousness is materially determined in its development. The socialist production relations in their entirety—but primarily the socialist ownership in the means of production—, national and international relations, and the conditions of the international class conflict decisively affect the content, tempo, dissemination and efficacy of socialist consciousness. These material determinants express the class interests of the workers class in socialist consciousness.

Socialist social consciousness thus forms while subject to social reality, in accordance with the general law of consciousness development. The particular degree assumed by this dependency and the manner in which man can affect social development are matters that essentially depend on how the Marxist-Leninist parties, this most important subjective condition of the historic process in developed socialist society, manage to direct consciousness development, systematically and purposefully. In the GDR as in the other fraternal socialist countries it has been corroborated and confirmed through successful ideological work that has now already lasted for decades that the socialist consciousness of the working people can attain to a high

quality and maturity as required for any given historic stage only if its development is formed as a systematic process. Otherwise ideological "losses" occur because, for one thing, possibilities for developing the initiative and activities of millions of people remain untapped. Ideological "losses," however—and this is often overlooked—, are not less serious than material losses. For that reason a fundamental importance attaches, in planning consciousness development, to understanding and further exploring the conditioning inter-relations between social reality and social consciousness, between material and ideological social relations, between base and superstructure and between objective conditions and subjective factors.

By consciousness development<sup>8</sup> the scientific and systematic process is meant for the further formation, dissemination and deepening of the socialist consciousness of the workers class and all working people, proceeding on the basis of socialist social reality through the work of the party, state, social organizations and work collectives in conformity with the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. The planning of consciousness is possible to the extent that the inevitable connections between material and ideological relations, between base and superstructure, and between objective conditions and subjective factors are understood. These insights lead to statements on the continuity and stability of consciousness development. They direct our attention at those conditions through the changes of which an influence can be brought to bear on the level, intensity and efficacy of consciousness development.<sup>9</sup>

The object in the planning of consciousness development, from the philosophic vantage point, it seems to us, has the following aspects: (1) The emergence or "production" of socialist social consciousness; (2) the selection and determination of those components of social consciousness that can be planned; (3) the dissemination of socialist ideology and socialist consciousness; and (4) the sociohistoric efficacy of socialist consciousness.

The emergence or "production" of social socialist consciousness is determined by the material social relations, in particular the socialist production relations. It has to do with the fact that, and the extent to which, people become aware of the relations between productive forces and production relations. At the same time, the material conditioning of social consciousness also includes its active role in changing and transforming social reality. Social consciousness thus also has an impulse function brought to realization through men's practical activities, through their social activities within and outside social production. "From that vantage point, social consciousness is the outcome of a certain kind of human activity aimed at the production of intellectual values, that is, concepts, ideas, theories, convictions, knowledge, evaluations, goals and so forth. At the same time social consciousness is not only an outcome but also a necessary prerequisite for purposive activity. . . Under that aspect social consciousness constitutes the 'objectified' side of intellectual activity."10 In planning consciousness development, what we are concerned with thus is using the impulse function of consciousness for shaping society.

Especially the larger dimensions, greater criteria and complexity in the tasks for economic and social development and the further enforcement of scientific-technical progress necessitate greater social awareness. Deeper insights into the inevitabilities of social development are needed to release in every way the creativity of the people's masses and, with it, overcome resolutely residues of the past in men's consciousness and conduct. For that reason the party directs "the social scientists' attention at exploring the complex and complicated problems resulting from the GDR's social development, from progressive socialist economic integration, and from socialism's role and responsibility in the revolutionary world process, which have to be settled from the Marxist-Leninist point of view."

There is no disagreement in social science literature that the production of new ideas and theories and the formation of a scientifically sound consciousness are determined by the type, character and content of intellectual production. 12 Any given production and class relations produce the ideas and the social consciousness conforming to them. New ideas, new forms, spheres and other structural elements of social consciousness grow out of the objective needs in the development of productive forces and production relations. Marx not only showed the immense variety of extant and newly emerging manifestations of intellectual life as based on concrete production and power relations, he also took into account the extent to which their individual forms -- "old memories, personal enmities, fears and hopes, prejudices and illusions, sympathies and antipathies, convictions, articles of faith and principles"--affect social action. It all came down to his generalized observation: "Over the various forms of property and the conditions of social existence there towers a whole superstructure of diverse and peculiarly formed sentiments, illusions, modes of thinking and world views. The entire class creates and shapes them out of the correlative social relations."13

The process of ideology and consciousness formation with all its steps, stages or segments starts with the individual, with individual sentiments, ideas and concepts. It continues on in more or less generalized modes of thinking and eventually merges in the world views and world-outlooks of groups, collectives and classes. As a rule world-outlooks emerge as the outcome of a social division of labor, through generalizing social processes and phenomena. The maturity of various ideologies and types of social consciousness as well as their structure and function are determined by any given historic production and class relations and their developmental levels.

The object of planning consciousness development furthermore includes the selection and determination of those components of social consciousness that can be planned. That pertains more or less to rather permanent, stable manifestations of consciousness such as basic ideas, convictions, theoretical components of social consciousness, traditions and so forth. According to the present state of social science knowledge it may be said that for the time being it still is more the rational side of social consciousness, rather than the emotional side, and more the social consciousness, rather than

individual consciousness, that are found to be more accessible to planning. To some extent an attitude toward work and public property, toward socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and a further formation of public opinion can be affected by planning. Particular attention is being given to the planning of consciousness development in the work collectives.

The planning of consciousness development, as we see it, concentrates on observing, supporting and fostering progressive tendencies in this formation process. Whereas in the economic field objectives can be planned by means of economic coefficients, a quantification of consciousness processes is still beset with many problems. Such quantitative determinations may include frequency curves and the ranking of knowledge, opinions and views as well as the familiarity with certain contents of consciousness and the existence of political and technical knowledge.

The dissemination of socialist ideology and socialist consciousness also is an object of planning. Here one has to distinguish between the developmental stage attained by the material social relations on the one hand and the reflection, or the form, of these material social relations in the working people's consciousness, on the other. Identifying both aspects with each other, equating social existence and social consciousness, material and ideological social relations, base and superstructure, would amount to regarding the object and its image as identical. The final consequence of that would mean denying the active role of social consciousness and of the superstructure in public life.

For socialist ideology and socialist consciousness to be able to modify, through human action, social reality, the material life of society, they must be shaped, disseminated and rooted in mass consciousness. This is the sense in which Friedrich Engels' remark is to be realized: "For the masses to understand, however, what they have to do, lengthy and lasting work is required." As historic experience teaches, the developed socialist society cannot be successfully shaped unless at the same time the conditions are created for the all-round development of personalities and unless culture, education, social consciousness and inner maturity of personality attain to a high plain.

In the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, of socialist ideology and of the scientifically established socialist consciousness, components are at work that are carrying their character in themselves. Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialist consciousness express the interests of the workers class, the most progressive class in social development. They correctly reflect the objective inevitabilities in the development of human society whereby they can not only predict scientifically the long-range prospects of society but can also give to each individual a perspective in a society without exploitation and suppression where the authority of personality is determined by the work done for the social and one's own benefit. The wider the scope of the revolutionary transformation is, the more vividly everyone can convince himself of the correctness, that is,

the truth content in socialist ideology and the scientifically established socialist consciousness. Finally it is characteristic of socialist ideology and socialist consciousness that they are closely tied up with life, with practical affairs and, based on the generalizations drawn from this practice, that is, through surveying the facts, processes and interconnections, as well as new manifestations, of public reality, are constantly enriched, rendered more precise, and deepened.

These advantages of socialist ideology foster the working people's receptivity for a scientifically established consciousness, but they by no means bring it about that men "by themselves," that is, spontaneously, find their way to socialist modes of thinking and conduct. The work of the Marxist-Leninist party is and remains the most important subjective condition for the dissemination and appropriation of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook by the workers class and all working people. This is the sense in which it was remarked at the Ninth SED Congress: "The more far-reaching and complicated the management and planning tasks of all sides and forms of the social processes become, the greater becomes the Marxist-Leninist party's political leadership role in society." The consolidation and further shaping of the material-technical base, the development of the social relations, and the education and training of men in the spirit of socialist morality and of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook are understood here in their dialectical unity and mutual interdependence.

The party directs the attention of all its organizations, of all members and functionaries, at the need to strengthen the consciousness-forming work among the working people and at proceeding from that the working people, the objects of such influence, are at the same time the subject of the historic process, the subject of the continued shaping of developed socialist society. Consciousness-forming work therefore requires leading the working people from their everyday experience with socialism to scientific insights into socialism, its world historic role, and the class character and inevitabilities of its processes. "This activity can be effective only if it involves millions of people, if it is transformed into a deeply conscious motor for the social conduct of the various members of society. For that reason the ideological function of the party also includes the broad propagation of the party's line and policy as well as the tasks assigned by the party and the socialist state."16 And the "SED History" states: "The party's political mass activity must make sure that the working people's questions about the political problems of our time are convincingly answered everywhere and that they are well informed."17 That the working people are well informed about the fundamental events and processes in society and industry, about complicated problems, their effects on the individual and their being coped with jointly during the ordinary working day is all very important. For being informed is a crucial prerequisite for being able to participate in the management and planning of social processes. At the same time it is an essential aspect of socialist awareness. This is the only way by which the conscious activity of the working people under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party can become one of the important aspects of the historic process.

In the developed socialist society the working people take an active part in the shaping of the ideological process. They are no longer merely the takers vis-a-vis the propagandists, teachers, managers and so forth; they also become the givers due to their experiences and to the level of their personality development, their human maturity and their strength of radiation as socialist personalities.

The planning of consciousness development always has to remain aware of two aspects in the dissemination of socialist ideology. First, the dissemination of socialist ideology and socialist consciousness is a crucial aspect of the shaping of interrelations between the Marxist-Leninist party, the workers class, and the broad masses of the working people. It serves the deepening and further consolidation of the party's mass solidarity, the characteristic feature and basic principle of its work. But then also does it serve the constant improvements of all ways and means, forms and methods in its consciousness-forming work.

Finally it is the enhanced social effectiveness of socialist ideology and socialist social consciousness that constitutes an essential aspect of the object in planning consciousness development. As early as in 1895 Friedrich Engels called attention to the problem of the social effectiveness of ideologies when he said: "When it comes to a complete transformation of social organization, the masses themselves must be involved in it, having themselves already understood what it is all about, what it is they dedicate themselves to with all they have. That is something history has taught us."19

Mass effectiveness depends on the historic role of the one class that is the chief agent of socialist consciousness and, simultaneously, takes its place as the most consistent proponent of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, the workers class and its revolutionary party. Inseparably connected with that is the degree of precision to which this consciousness has matured in expressing the social developmental needs that must necessarily be satisfied.

The increase of the activities of the workers class and all working people in public life may be taken as the crucial criterion for the social efficacy of socialist consciousness. That mainly includes the activities in the area of material production for incessantly raising further the labor productivity and the systematic improvements in the effectiveness and quality of labor through fully implementing scientific-technical progress. important are the activities outside that field which contribute to the deepening of social relations, the further consolidation of the politicalmoral unity of the population, the development of socialist work collectives and the formation of all-round socialist personalities, such as the participation in the "work, study and live socialistically" movement, political and technical training, the full exercise of responsibility in the class-bound patriotic and internationalist education of the children, contributing to the shaping of socialist fellowship in the residential areas and many other matters like those. The relation between consciousness development and concrete action does not take effect directly but indirectly. Due to the

fact that the development of socialist ideology and socialist consciousness exercises a relative degree of effect of its own, various intermediate elements gain an influence on these relations, of which there have to be mentioned primarily the interests and needs of the people, but then also their education, origin, life's experiences all the way to typical features and specific psychological personality factors.

Consciousness development is judged primarily by how increased knowledge and fortified convictions affect the fulfillment of production plans, labor discipline and the quality of all the work. Apart from creative work and social activity, no deepening and solidification of socialist consciousness is possible since the result of practical activity lies "in the test for subjective cognition and the criterion for truly existing objectivity." 20

Principally, the including components are the ones that significantly affect the efficacy of consciousness development:

- (1) The steady deepening of the store of ideas in consciousness-forming work--mainly by that the inevitabilities are explained that are basic to the social developmental processes in the transition period from capitalism to socialism. Proceeding from the needs and interests of the working people, and from the experiences they have gathered, the dialectical interrelations have to be explained that exist between socialist ideals and the reality of socialism as it actually exists, along with which one must always penetrate to the essence of the phenomena, to the questions of the power, production and property relations.
- (2) Perfecting the style and methods of consciousness-forming work. By this is mainly meant raising its combative revolutionary content and the constant endeavor to use the ways and means which facilitate the greatest possible growth in consciousness development under any given concrete conditions, the given developmental state of socialist consciousness, the level of working and living conditions, the climate in the work collective and so forth.
- (3) Creating the material prerequisites for elaborating, explaining and disseminating socialist consciousness.
- (4) Development of the creative initiative of those facilities, institutions and organizations that are working in the field of ideology.
- (5) Creative activity by individuals and collectives in their appropriating socialist ideology and socialist consciousness, which would manifest itself in greater receptivity as well as by increased efforts in the study and dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook.

The planning of consciousness development is a process of constant learning and experience. With the further shaping of developed socialist society and its increased requirements, it must be raised onto a higher plain. A number of objective and subjective causes significantly affect its advance.

First, the social sciences are still merely beginning their exploration of the modes and mechanisms by which the laws of intellectual life affect society.

Second, the planning object called "consciousness" is itself still inadequately explored in terms of its content, structure and functions. There is, of course. Not of detailed material on one aspect of consciousness development or another, but what is needed is a stronger collocation of these data into a complete picture of consciousness and its active role in public life.

Third, there is at present "no cohesive, special theory on the ideological process and its management. Sociological, psychological and pedagogic surveys extant and the knowledge in other science areas have not been combined under a unified theory on ideological processes." I

Fourth, a problem that has still to be solved more efficiently lies "in undertaking, in the course of education, the formation of the whole complex of the manifold characteristics of personality, including scientific world-outlook, communist awareness, a conscious attitude toward work, professional training and high morality, which in the final analysis represent the consciousness and intellectual world of the universally and harmoniously developed human being." One difficulty precisely lies in combining man's education with instruction and with the further elaboration, dissemination and appropriation of conscious content and in encouraging self-education.

Fifth, the long-term guideline set down in the resolutions and documents of the Ninth SED Congress, on confrontation with imperialist policy and ideology, requires further research to be implemented. In the forefront here stands the confrontation with all the various manifestations of anticommunismits cruder as well as more sophisticated forms. Special attention is needed for the struggle against any kind of anti-Sovietism and against bourgeois nationalism. There are these notions like "bridge building," or the "change through rapprochement" or the "selective confrontation" that must be persuasively unmasked by clearly bringing into view the unbridgeable class barriers separating socialism from capitalism in all areas of life. That is crucially prerequisite to also forming in every sense the GDR citizens' socialist national consciousness.

Sixth, what finally requires urgently further elaboration, clearer outlines, more precise definitions and practical testing is the set of conceptual, methodological and systematic tools for quantitatively accounting for and qualitatively defining the processes of consciousness.

The discussion of these prerequisites and conditions brings us to the question of what is being planned, that is, which phenomena, processes and measures in the field of consciousness development can be planned in the first place and thereby be made accessible to conscious management. If we rely in this connection on the rich experiences available from practical party work, the answer we give to this question still only provides initial considerations staking out a possible field of ideas which call for closer examination and further systematic research.

- (1) Precision, deepening and enrichment of the content of ideas in our ideological work based on our long-range, planned economic, political and social development: It is necessary "to approach any task assigned to a party organization initially from the standpoint of its ideological content. Regardless of what a party management has to deal with, be it questions of plan fulfillment or supplies, our intellectual-cultural life or the promoting of women, military education or sports-first it should always face the question: where is the ideological core of this task and which ideological demands does it make?"

  This approach is of a general nature. It applies not only to current tasks but equally much to long-range problems.
- (2) Elaboration of contents of consciousness, basic convictions, characteristic features and modes of conduct as required from the standpoint of the economic, political and social development that has to be coped with and of the formation of creatively thinking and responsibly acting universally developed socialist personalities: It is to be taken into consideration that in the process of ideological education a whole system of various influences affects the consciousness of large social groups as well as the work collectives and the individual personalities. For example, working on complete installations calls for different dimensions of responsibility, work discipline and insight into industrial and socioeconomic interconnections than does the handling of simple working tools. Such demands must also be made fully conscious on the basis of a concrete analysis of the given working conditions, the labor process and the changed living conditions.
- (3) Describing the possible and necessary changes in the working people's need and interest structure: For example, the closer and more intensive unity and interchange between politics, economics and ideology calls for deepening the social motives in the working people's social activities and for contributing to improved performance for the good of society as well as for one's own advantage by finding a better way of combining material with moral motivation. The greater interest in production work calls for systematically focusing ideological work on high economic efficiency and performance. Up to a certain extent planning measures can cause changes in the working people's need and interest structure, as suggested by the continuing emergence of the socialist way of life, the closer ties between economic and social policy, and the further rapprochement between the classes and social strata. Especially the policy aiming at the fulfillment of the main task, of systematically elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living, sets higher quality criteria and motivates

the high-level type of satisfaction of needs that accords with a developed socialist society. In particular the need for information that has risen by leaps and bounds and the stronger interest in questions of international and scientific-technical development make new demands on and set higher criteria for our ideological work.

- (4) Elaboration or precision and evaluation of factors affecting the consciousness development in the period ahead: That involves, for one thing, the conditions and factors at work on a national or international scale, such as the struggle between the opposing social systems, the intensified conflict in the ideological field, the growing internationalization of public life, socialist economic integration and many other matters. As emphasized by E. Horecker at the ninth SED Central Committee session, it is obvious "that more than before the centerpiece of our deliberations and actions must be the question under what international conditions we are shaping further the developed socialist society in our country." This, however, also involves the factors at work in men's immediate environment such as personality-promoting working conditions, the working climate, the atmosphere in the residential area, public opinion, sports and sociability.
- (5) General rules drawn from proven experiences in political mass activity, including deliberations on the extent, intensity and efficacy in which they meet the demands of the developmental phase ahead, and to what extent they have to be changed, rendered more precise and enriched: In these considerations we must absolutely include more of an exchange of experiences with the party organizations in the fraternal socialist countries. As of now, such experiences are tapped much too inadequately or merely sporadically, which leaves great reserves for management activity unused. For one thing, there are still reservations about experiences made by others and about the possibility of concretely applying them by insisting on specific conditions in one's own area. And then there are examples where compelling experiences were insufficiently enforced by management. Yet in planning ideological work we are not dealing with the popularization of experiences; its implementation should rather be handled like a resolution.
- (6) The spotting of contradictions, conflicts and difficulties in ideological work by means of a systematic analysis of the status and tendencies in the development of socialist consciousness, aiming at taking a timely influence on the course and development of consciousness processes and the fastest possible elimination of difficulties arising.
- (7) Commemorative days and high points in social and political life, a dignified manner of preparing and holding them, and a meaningful use of them for propagating the basic questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, and generalizing and propagating the experiences of fraternal socialist countries: This also includes preserving the traditions we have and establishing new ones in accord with socialist society as well as a purposeful elaboration and solidification of a scientifically sound image of history.

(8) Coordination and concentration of the forces involved in politicalideological education, like party organizations, mass organizations, state organs, propagandists, social facilities in residential areas and so forth, on priorities in ideological propaganda in any given area: This includes the constant improvement of all forms, ways and means for disseminating and deepening socialist consciousness.

The components presented above are meant as a framework for planning consciousness development. The sequence in which they were listed has no bearing on the worthiness and rank of the problems. In line with concrete conditions it is entirely possible, and also justifiable, that one component or another may move to the foreground and become outstandingly important—even if but temporarily.

#### FOOTNOTES

- F. Engels, "Two Speeches in Elberfeld," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 2, Berlin, 1957, pp 538 f.
  - 2. V. I. Legis "Remarks on Plekhanov's Second Draft Program," "Werke," Vol 6, Fersin, 1956, p 40.
  - 3. F. Engel "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany," Marx/Engels, "Werke," ol 8, Berlin, 1961, p 13.
  - 4. For the planning of economic and social development, the concepts "economic planning" and "social planning" have become customary. By "planning of consciousness development" in the context that interests us we mean establishing coordinated and concentrated activities by the party and state organs, social organizations and institutions, for further shaping the working people's socialist consciousness. This is based on extensive analytical work and takes into account the variety of conditions affecting social consciousness. Various experiences in planning are available, especially on a semiannual basis. Attempts and experiments in longer periods of planning have, however, also been undertaken, where the time span was expanded to two years or even to the five-year plan period. Soviet experiences have come up with positive results in that respect. As a rule, the planning of consciousness development is done in conjunction with the planning of party activity. But attempts also have been made to work out special plans for consciousness development. Experiences are going to show what is worthy to be theoretically generalized and what has stood up well in practice.
  - 5. "Geschichte der SED. Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 395.
  - 6. Ibid., p 396.
  - "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session), Berlin, 1978, p 64.

- 8. In the literature at hand the concept "consciousness development" is often used as a synonym of the concepts ideological development, consciousness formation, ideological-political development, ideological work, control of consciousness, ideological education, or politicalideological work. A synonymous use is, it seems to us, justified because (a) we proceed from there being in existence socialist production, class and power relations; (b) the socialist ideology is the ruling ideology; (c) a system is provided for the dissemination of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, which implies a scientific consciousness; and (d) the Marxist-Leninist party is the most important subjective condition for elaborating, explaining and propagating the scientific worldoutlook of Marxism-Leninism. A closer look indicates that the concepts referred to are mostly used in the sense of "forming, enforcing or making effective" the socialist ideology and socialist consciousness. Redlow and G. Stiehler, eds., "Philosophische Probleme det Entwicklung" (Philosophical Problems of Development), Berlin, 1977, p 130.
- 9. Cf., inter alia: "Objective Inevitabilities and Conscious Action in Socialist Society," "Materialien des IV. Philosophie-Kongresses der DDR, Berlin, 1975; G. Stiehler, "Gesellschaft und Geschichte" (Society and History), Berlin, 1974; U. Huar, "About the Content of Socio-political Laws," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 6, 1974; "Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus" (Principles of Historical Materialism), Berlin, 1976; H. Harmel, "On the Concept of Material and Ideological Social Relations," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, 1977; U. Klotz, "On the Nature of Ideological Relations, Ibid., No 1, 1977; G. Stiehler, "The Dialectics of Social Being and Social Consciousness," Ibid., No 3, 1978; E. Hahn, "On the Inevitability of Socialist Consciousness Development," Ibid., No 10, 1977; H. Schliwa, "Topical Problems in the Development of Socialist Consciousness," Ibid., No 2, 1978.
- N. Drjachlow, E. Lassow, W. Rasin, G. Stiehler, eds., "Kategorien des historischen Materialismus. Studien zur Widerspiegelung gesellschaftlicher Entwicklungsprozesse in philosophischen Begriffen" (Categories of Historical Materialism--Studies on the Reflection of Social Developmental Processes in Philosophic Concepts), Berlin, 1978, p 275.
- 11. "Geschichte der SED. Abriss," loc. cit., p 669.
- 12. Intellectual production itself can be seen under four aspects: "(1) the personal and material side; (2) various spheres of intellectual production originating from the social division of labor within intellectual production itself; (3) two different basic kinds of intellectual production, differing in accordance with the relation between the production and consumption of intellectual values; and (4) four subdivisions of intellectual production in the comprehensive sense of the word: production, distribution, exchange and consumption of intellectual values." "Kategorien des historischen Materialismus," p 279.

- 13. K. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 8, p 139.
- F. Engels, "Introduction to Karl Marx' 'Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850' [1895]," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 22, Berlin, 1963, p 523.
- 15. "SED Program," Berlin, 1976, p 65.
- 16. M. Markow, "Theorie der sozialen Leitung" (Theory on Social Management), Berlin, 1978, p 132.
- 17. "Geschichte der SED. Abriss," loc. cit., 1 669.
- 18. Cf. "Die weiteren Aufgaben der politischen Massenarbeit der Partei" (The Further Tasks in the Party's Political Mass Activity), Berlin, 1977.
- 19. F. Engels, "Introduction . . .," loc. cit., p 523.
- 20. V. I. Lenin, "Conspectus on Hegels' 'Science of Logic,'" "Werke," Vol 38, Berlin, 1964, p 210.
- M. Momov, "The Integration of Scientific Research With Ideological Practice," NOVOE VREMYA, No 3, 1977. Cited in ADN-Material, No 7, 1977, p 1.
- 22. M. Nenashev, "Scientific Organization and Planning of Ideological Work," KOMMUNIST, No 4, 1977. Cited in ADN-Material, No 6, 1977, p 2.
- 23. "Die Aufgaben der Agitation und Propaganda bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des VIII. Parteitages der SED" (The Tasks of Agitation and Propaganda in the Further Implementation of the Eighth SED Congress Decisions), Berlin, 1972, p 62.
- 24. E. Honecker, "With Optimism into a Year of New Struggles and Victories."

  "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED. Aus den Diskussionsreden. Aus dem Schlusswort" (From the Poliburo Report to the Ninth SED Central Committee Session--From the Discussion Speeches---From the Concluding Speech), Berlin, 1978, p 174.

## Changes in Mass Consciousness Seen

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[Article by Karin Schiessl, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, in preparation for Fifth GDR Philosophers Congress: "Mass Consciousness in Socialism." See preceding article for reference to related information]

[Text] The development of socialism both on the national and international scale provides always new evidence for Lenin's thesis that an essential characteristic trend of social forward movement under socialist conditions is the "rapid, real and true forward movement of the masses in all domains of public . . . life, first with the majority of the population taking part and later, the entire population."

The popular masses in socialism, different from previous forms of society, are no longer, by and large, merely the producers of society's material conditions of subsistence but they are, with it, their proprietors and the authorities of power. That shapes the role of the popular masses as the subject. Qualitatively, this process essentially depends on the quality of the consciousness of the popular masses, to be termed "mass consciousness." At least two arguments speak for it: First of all, the popular masses, in order to be able to mold society consciously and systematically, must adequately reflect its essential processes and elements in the present and future and stake out commensurate developmental goals. Secondly, only on such a level of reflecting the social conditions of subsistence on the overall social scale is it possible for the popular masses to engage in conscious and organized action for bringing those goals to realization.

Lenin has stressed how important the thinking and action of the popular masses are for the development of socialism: "In our terms, it is the awareness of the masses that makes the state strong. It is strong when the masses know everything, can judge everything and do everything consciously." The SED, the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and of all the working people, is taking account of that fundamental insight in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. It has formulated the requirement for the continued successful development of our republic as follows: "Establishing the communist society is the most extensive and penetrating transformation of society. This therefore calls for the highest degree of awareness, party-mindedness, activity, organization and discipline—and that not only among the vanguard but among the masses of the working people and all citizens. The more perfect socialism becomes, the greater is the importance of awareness and creativity."

For implementing this requirement, it is necessary to gain deeper knowledge about mass consciousness from the philosophical vantage point and from other vantage points. To that end, the following questions are among those that have to be clarified: Which factors determine mass consciousness and thus determine its quality? What is its substance? What is the function of mass consciousness? What are the elements, aspects, stratifications that it contains and how do its interrelations develop? How does mass consciousness manifest itself? These problems must be looked at first in order to arrive at statements about the current shape of mass consciousness, its effectiveness and the degree of its scientific penetration.

The term "mass consciousness" entered philosophical discussions the more the role of the popular masses and their consciousness increased in importance in the development of socialism. Thereby mass consciousness is properly recognized as a specific reflection of social existence. Its specific nature comes from the intellectual absorption of social existence by the popular masses. They are the agents and producers of mass consciousness. The results of their intellectual activity maintain a relationship of inevitability with their historic role in a concretely historic society.

A further philosophic elaboration of the concept of "mass consciousness" is an important element in the political understanding and the political leadership for the party-class-mass triad. It must help make intelligible the developmental level and the developmental trends and possibilities of mass consciousness and work out managerial ways and means for it. With that in mind, the present article wishes to supply initial answers to the questions listed above.

Problems of the New Determinative Quality, the Substance and the Function of Mass Consciousness in Socialism

To grasp the substance of mass consciousness, it is initially necessary to examine the basic question of philosophy under the aspect of the answer provided by dialectical materialism on what determines it and what it reflects. In all forms of society, mass consciousness is the prerequisite and condition for and the result of any kind of activity by the popular masses. Thus it reflects more or less adequately—and herein lies its cognitive function—all those social and natural conditions of existence which the popular masses create and change through their activities and which they have to take into account.

As the material social relations caused and reproduced through a particular class structure of any given concretely historic society, they determine the production relations and their substance, the productive forces, the mass consciousness. And as the character of a certain mode of production as the prerequisite and condition for and the result of the activity of the popular masses is constituted, so also must be the level and character of mass consciousness. Simultaneously, existing ideological relations always affect the mass consciousness. §

The general trend in the historic development of mass consciousness is that when the activity of the popular masses becomes broader and deeper, their consciousness also gains greater scope and depth. Substantively and structurally it becomes richer. At the same time, while the society-shaping role of the popular masses is growing, the demands are also growing, proportionately, that are made on the quality of mass consciousness and on its cognitive and sociological function. These higher qualitative demands on the one hand are the consequence of the emergence of the workers class and its development as a revolutionary class and they can, on the other hand, be met only by that class and its revolutionary party. The most

important prerequisite for it is the elaboration of the scientific ideology as a "summary of experience pervaded with a profound philosophic world-outlook and a rich knowledge of history," mainly of the struggle of the popular masses and their spread through mass consciousness.

Let us first look at the capitalist society. What do we see here? Under the conditions of the capitalist mode of production and of the domination. by private property and competition, the popular masses, its productive agents, find their consciousness stuck to the surface of society, which hides its real nature. TExploitation and competition, those essential features of capitalist production, "atomize" the individuals and bring it about that the mass consciousness reflects only sectors of society, only individual interests and indirect purposes. The productive forces, subjected in their development to capitalist profit interests, in their structure and level likewise affect the mass consciousness. But as capitalism maintains its educational monopoly, the popular masses learn no more about the mechanisms involved than what capitalism deems necessary in its needs for making use of them. Look at the superstructure and you find that the masses are excluded from government business. They get intellectually manipulated by the ruling bourgeois ideology. And that means that even with respect to the secondary, the ideological, relations, a factor that conditions their awareness, they are bound to get a distorted, deformed picture of bourgeois society.

This distorted reflection of social relations is then being counteracted by the increasing polarization and simplification of class relations resulting from the capitalist socialization of production and labor. Increasing proletarization, pauperization trends, that which they find identical in their social situation and interests conforming with that first enter the awareness of the working people spontaneously. It makes the popular masses more and more ready and receptive for producing the scientific workers class ideology. Thus the social conditions of capitalism themselves, on the one hand, produce the need for the production and spreading of the scientific ideology by the Marxist-Leninist party and, on the other, bring it about that the masses, because of their own social experience, accept and appropriate that ideology.

Which repercussions now may be expected the mass consciousness to have on the social conditions of existence? Granted, any individual can act consciously even when he is conscious only of sectors, of individual goals and purposes. But on the overall social scale it leads to results which normally contradict individual interests. This spontaneity of social development only reproduces the "distorted reality" in a sharper form. On the other hand, what they find they have in common in their social situation establishes a budding awareness in the popular masses, which the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party can and must then use to properly qualify mass consciousness for the struggle for socialism. Yet only in socialism can "the relations of the practical working day present man every day with rational and reasonable relations with each other and

with nature. The figure of the social life processes, that is, of the material production processes, is divested of its mystic veil of mist only when, as a product of freely socialized men, it stands under their conscious, systematic control."9

Marks of a new quality of mass consciousness in socialism are caused by the qualitatively more highly developed production relations. Starting with the triumph of the socialist production relations, after the definite elimination of the class cleavage, a homogeneous society develops on the basis of the public ownership in the means of production. In sociological terms, now society equals popular masses. That the popular masses are a historically changing magnitude was formulated as follows at the conference on mass political activity: "In our political conception of party-classmass, the concept mass or masses has always meant the people, or rather the working people. Before the workers class came to power, all the unpropertied, the exploited, the majority of the people were meant by it. In the current application valid among us the concept embraces all citizens, the entire people, because in socialism the fundamental contradiction that splits people up as being either exploiters or exploited has been eliminated."10 Thus mass consciousness also increasingly assumes a socially homogeneous character. We should therefore have to clarify in the future what the relation is between mass consciousness and social consciousness and what they have in common and where they differ under socialist conditions.

By realizing their role as producers, proprietors and authorities in power, the working people in socialism establish the prerequisites for ever better satisfying the needs of all citizens and for granting to all members of society free, all-round development. This process of the unfolding of the advantages of socialism is becoming ever more clearly perceptible, visible, and thus "intelligible," for every individual citizen in our country, particularly since the Eighth SED Congress. The realization of the unity of economic and social policy permits every citizen to understand still better the goal, ways and means of socialist production. The nature of socialist production has in this policy been provided with an expression which actively fosters its proper reflection. The realization of the program on full employment, prosperity and stability has revealed the essence of this socialist order, while it still requires deeper theoretical insights in order for us to reach the goals assigned by the most effective and best ways and means.

With respect to the mass consciousness this means that the more "intelligible" production relations, on the one hand, make the processes of reflection simpler. On the other hand, we also find again in the socialist production relations and their development causes turning the reflection in mass consciousness increasingly into something more complicated. These causes are found mainly in the qualitatively more highly developed socialization process, both in scope and depth, of production and labor, than what we saw in earlier societies. Under the conditions of the public ownership in the means of production, all aspects of labor become socialized. The development of unmediated

social labor, among other things, helps reduce still existing social differentiations resulting from the given degree of maturity of public property, the unevenly developed character and content of labor, the differing degrees of participation in management and production and so forth, and makes gradually prevail a socioeconomically homogenous, classless type of society. It is a lengthy process that has only started. In spite of that, the trend it has shown justifies the statement that mass consciousness, as a reflection of a society free from antagonisms and based on the scientific ideology, is itself gaining more and more social homogeneity. As things are still at this time, however, in an examination of mass consciousness the social differences in existence still deserve much attention. They are the objective causes for its internal differentiation. In further exploring its effects on the concretely historic content, structure and so forth of mass consciousness we will have opportunities for bringing a still more targeted influence to bear on further boosting its development.

The socialization of production and labor goes together with progressive combination, concentration, specialization and cooperation, with enlarging production units, a more conscious attention by each member of social production to satisfying our social needs, and a growing dependency among all links of the economy. Reflecting that development makes higher demands than we had before on mass consciousness and turns its development into a more complicated process which is becoming ever more closely intertwined with all manifestations of social consciousness and social existence.

The process of the socialization of production and labor implies and presupposes that no longer merely the individually diverse and directly experienced partial sectors of social development are properly conceived independently but that every citizen learns to integrate his individual experiences in the overall social context, conceives of them as manifestations thereof and thereby makes himself aware of his place in society and of the demands made on his actions. It is a requirement which neither an individual worker nor the popular masses on the whole could take care of spontaneously. It is brought to realization primarily through the greater role assumed by the Marxist-Leninist party and its scientific ideology. The shaping of social development today presupposes a scientific comprehension of the current and correct prognoses for future processes in the overall social framework. Not until the scientific ideology spreads through mass consciousness will its quality become more definitely shaped in that direction. And finally the point should have to made that the totality of socialist ideological relations, the state, the political system, the educational system, the mass media and so forth, that is to say, the superstructure that conforms to the socialist mode of production, also exercises a crucial influence on the direction in which mass consciousness develops.

For each citizen in a socialist country, the process that fills his consciousness with ideology starts while he is still a child and goes on in a fairly uninterrupted manner throughout his working life. In socialism, there is

no lower type education fof the "people" and a higher type for the "elite," as in the exploiter societies, nor an educational monopoly. With the implementation of the socialist educational policy, the necessary foundations were laid for universally educated socialist personalities, because "industry run jointly and systematically by all of society fully presupposes people whose talents have been developed in all directions and who are able to comprehend the whole production system." To this need conforms our strictly orienting education to the insights of the sciences and our concentrating on combining educational measures with life and socialist construction.

Socialist ideological relations originate and develop in close interaction with party-class-mass. Their historical effectiveness in the transformation of society is possible only through conscious mass participation in its production and reproduction. That is the one side of the process through which the popular masses make democracy real. They exercise their function in ownership and power ideologically, for instance by taking part in the plan discussions, through advice and criticism, through setting the goals of competition, through organizing the "work, study and learn socialistically" movement, or by working on commissions on all levels of public life, to mention only some of the ordinary forms by which they take part in the business of state. "Important to us is attracting all working people without exception to the administration of the state. That is an immensely difficult task. Yet socialism cannot be introduced by a minority--the party. Only dozens of millions can do that, if they learn to do it themselves. We regard as our distinction that we are seeking to help the mass to tackle that on its own,"13 that is what Lenin said about it.

If this qualitatively new web of determinants of consciousness in socialism, of which we could touch but a few points here, is placed in relation to mass consciousness, the first thing that has to be said about it is that thereby its "production" conditions and effects have further developed historically. We conform to that, so to speak, by a socialization of intellectual production and intellectual work. The increasing intertwining and mutual interdependency of the material domains and processes of consciousness correspond, in terms of ideas, to an increasing interlocking and deepening of the reciprocal dependency among all components of socialist consciousness (politics, jurisprudence, science and so forth), and this not simply as a mirror-image of the developing determinants but also through a development that more or less follows its own laws. That brings on a new quality of social cognitive processes consisting primarily of gaining increasingly more collective, cooperative cognition and of cognition application by the popular masses. 14

Here again we shall point only to one phenomenon in our current development that presupposes as much as promotes these tendencies—the cooperative work among production workers, engineers and scientists. This on one side constitutes an element of the development into a socioeconomically homogeneous type of society. On the other side it embodies the qualitative change in the social cognition process, aimed at jointly solving tasks of overall social interest.

Mass consciousness under these new conditions must increasingly conceive of society as an organic whole, with the right proportion of short-range and long-range goals for its development instead of being oriented only, as in capitalism, to partial sectors, close objectives, single purposes and so forth, or to illusory futuristic models. Above and beyond that, reflection and the acquisition of cognition also must adjust to the increased speed of social development and must, because of that, accomplish what they have to accomplish in less time. The degree to which that is possible is shown by such examples of the almost simultaneous reaction to the gradual implementation of the sociopolitical measures and the realization of new competition commitments, or also the immediate solidarity actions taken on behalf of Vietnam during the Chinese aggression.

To the same extent that the cognitive function of mass consciousness becomes more perfect, the substance of mass consciousness also changes. It becomes deeper, more multiform and more complex. Mass consciousness absorbs more and more scientific cognitions without being able, however, to do away with what distinguishes it from science as a whole. New features form in a sociological respect. For example, the increasing identity of personal, collective and social interests and the formation and development of a total social will are formed ever more strongly in mass consciousness. In this way the actions taken by the popular masses and by individual workers increasingly assume the quality of awareness and creativity and facilitate an ever more effective use of the social laws of socialism.

This process of perfecting mass consciousness brings with it a change in its structural composition and in the interactions between its various sides, elements and stratifications, which is to be looked at separately in what follows.

Tendencies in the Origin and Development of Mass Consciousness in Socialism--Changes in Its Manifestations and Structural Elements

With the higher quality attained by socialist society in its development, there changes, first of all, the manner in which mass consciousness is generated and developed.

Under the conditions of the capitalist mode of production, the consciousness of the working masses is generated spontaneously and instinctually through their immediate activity. It is, one may say, a necessary concomitant directly resulting from the labor process and in accommodation to it. Above and beyond that, the bourgeois ideology, in control of all mass communication media, prevents the consciousness of the masses from penetrating the "veil of mist" that hidesthe real social processes. That condition can gradually be done away with only by the workers class party's spreading the ideology of scientific communism, by the training, organization and education under its leadership, in bitter class struggle against the bourgeoisie, ultimately through the overthrow of the material and intellectual rule of the bourgeoisie and the construction of socialism. As long as capitalism continues to exist,

however, we have a continuing task of infusing our scientific ideology into the mass consciousness, even in socialism. Net only in its own country does the bourgeoisic attempt to manufacture bourgeois consciousness all the time, it also seeks to make it effective across its borders in the socialist countries. Because socialist consciousness is not irreversible either, bourgeois influence harbors the danger of abandoning positions already conquered in the consciousness of the popular masses. And that is the reason why the development of mass consciousness in socialist countries in our era must for the time being always proceed as a struggle against obsolete opinions, against traditional bourgeois experiences and bourgeois ideas, and as a struggle for its own immunization against enemy influences.

Gradually, it is a fundamental change that comes over the ways and means by which mass consciousness is generated and developed after the triumph of the socialist production relations. True enough, it continues to arise through education and training and, principally, in the production process. Yet to the extent that the social processes become "intelligible" to the popular masses and, in conformity with the need to become conscious of their forms, can be coped with only through a continuous learning process, the genesis, development and substance of mass consciousness themselves more and more assume a conscious character too, whereby they thus far exceed any simple conscious adjustment to social conditions, as in capitalism. The deeper and more extensive knowledge about social developmental processes that is needed implies that all working people will increasingly develop skills in generalizing and in dialectical thinking in order to transcend their individual experiences and comprehend the social interconnections in socialism. The Marxist-Leninist party, the state, the trade unions, the FDJ and other mass organizations not only assist in this process; they plan it scientifically and direct it. So it allows the working people to cross over the narrow limits of their own world of experience. And that takes account of our complicated social developmental conditions.

There, secondly, coincides with this development a change in the concretely historic manifestations of mass consciousness. In capitalism, mass consciousness-often undergirded emotionally-appears as some ordinary, every-day idea, perception, illusion and such. 16 They normally hover on the empirical level of reflection, wherefore they find their articulation in a vernacular that greatly differs from theory. To the extent that there is any rational absorption of these ideas, it is satisfied with merely partial sectors, individual goals and so forth and assesses only nearby purposes. In other words, it is not directed at the overall context and merely comes up with relatively "flat" abstractions. If mass consciousness in socialism, however, with the aid of the socialist ideology, is enlisted in the cognition of inevitable processes, it of necessity leads to the reflection of internal, general, necessary, essential sides and their adequate articulation through scientific concepts. Such acts of cognition are primarily rational. They include abstraction, classification, generalization and so forth. They thus enrich mass consciousness with rational and scientific elements. So that even our idiomatic speech absorbs more and more scientific concepts.

The SED at present pays special attention to permeating our mass consciousness with science: "The socialist future doubtless belongs to the melding of labor and science to every producer who combines in himself the features of a thinker and a man of practice, a high cultural level and the skill in applying acquired facilities and knowledge." This, thirdly, points to the fact that a structural change is going on in the mass consciousness. Under the conditions of the socialization of material and intellectual production in socialism, the working people becomes the exponent of all intellectual products originate in the overall social framework in this sense as mass consciousness. In this process, our mass consciousness becomes richer in its forms, aspects and elements and receives its characteristic marks from the closer interlinking and dependency among its various aspects.

Under party leadership, the realization of a dialectical, if not undifferentiated, unity between labor and science is already becoming visible in outlines as an important developmental trend of mass consciousness in socialism. While in 1964, for instance, there were circa 171,000 production workers, engineers, technicians and scientists working in research communities on the solution for scientific-technical problems, in 1978, the number had climbed to circa 376,000.18 Their own assessment is that in the solving of their concrete work assignments the scientists' knowledge accumulated over long years is carried over directly to the associates in industry and that there are fine achievements to show for in scientific work because of the constructive participation of the workers' knowledge and skills in the solving of problems. 19 That is as much an expression as a result of the theoretical penetration (the "intellectualization") of ordinary and mass consciousness, of which several authors have made a great deal. 20 Along with its greater scope and richer forms and so forth, our mass consciousness also acquires increasing depth and adequacy due to the shift in the relations, which are never rigid in socialism anyway, between ordinary and theoretical consciousness, the empirical and the theoretical, the emotional and the rational, the psychological and the ideological, all for the benefit of "higher" quality.

The qualitative change in the structure of mass consciousness is an inseparable component of the popular masses' historic role as the subject. The position of the popular masses as the subject of social development can only be developed to the extent that their historic creativity is developed. And vice versa, their historic creativity is the outcome of certain conditions the society must grant to the popular masses. If, for example, the current development of socialism significantly depends on the systematic and conscious connection between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, that then demands of every worker greater theoretical knowledge about natural and social processes, more comprehensive prognostic integration of their activity within the overall social matrix, expanded skills for creative work, greater facilities in operating machine systems, and a more thorough concern for management and planning matters, to mention once again only one of the basic developmental

trends. This is, however, an indispensable prerequisite for gradually overcoming the differences between mental and physical work and must become a firm component of mass consciousness. In terms of its structure again that means that the independent, rational, theoretical absorption of the social processes by the popular masses increases and so forth.

The most important tendency in this regard in the development of mass consciousness on the whole is its increasing penetration with the scientific world-outlook. A world-outlook has of course always been an element in the consciousness of the popular masses. As long as it was of an idealistic, mystical or religious character, however, it formed one condition, if a derived one, for the constant reproduction of exploiter relations. Not until the workers class emerges and develops from a class "by itself" to a class "for itself," there arise the possibility and need for the development and spread through mass consciousness of an essentially scientific world-outlook. With the scientific world-outlook being ever more comprehensively brought to realization in socialist practice, its massive reception as well as its further development on the basis of massive experiences call the Marxist-Leninist party into action. The socialization of production and labor for instance, an essential feature of socialist development, can consciously be shaped only on the basis of secure knowledge about its inherent inevitabilities, and that in turn can only be obtained through the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. This scientific world-outlook, as was pointed out several times, is made accessible, to be sure, to all citizens, but transforming the cognitions in a world-outlook into insights, attitudes and convictions as a basis for action presupposes as well as produces in the working people a far-reaching identification, conscious appropriation, independent absorption and so forth. This developmental trend also can already be seen in many manifestations.

While this article was supposed to concentrate on some developmental problems in mass consciousness, future research will have to settle questions such as that of the effect the realization of socialist democracy will have on the structure of mass consciousness, that of the connection between science as a productive force and mass consciousness, that of the content and form of mass consciousness qualified as "creativity," or that of deliberately developing a need for education in world-outlook. Besides, still further criteria are needed for determining the nature and effectiveness of mass consciousness.

# **FOOTNOTES**

- V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 25, Berlin, 1960, p 486.
- V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russian Soviet Congress," "Werke," Vol 26, Berlin, 1961, p 246.
- E. Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions), Berlin, 1978, p 77.

- 4. C1. the discussion in PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, Nos 2, 6, 7, and 11, 1978 and No 2, 1979, under the topic "Communists and the Consciousness of the Musses."
- Cf. R. Stiehler, "Concreteness for the Relation Between Existence and Consciousness," DELTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 1, 1979. p 102; E. Lassaw, "Social Existence and Ideological Relations," Ibid., No 1, 1979, p 93.
- 6. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," loc. cit., p 419.
- Cf. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," vol III, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 25, Berlin, 1964, p. 838.
- 8. Cf. H. Horstmann, "Ordinary Thought and the Recognition of Contradiction," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 3, 1979, p 315.
- 9. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, p 94.
- W. Lamberz, "Partei und Volk im vertrauensvollen Dialog" (Party and People in Confident Dialog), Berlin, 1977, p 20.
- 11. Cf. O. Reinhold and G. Schulz, "The Legacy of the Classic Authors and the Characteristics of the Economy in the Developed Socialist Society," WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, No 12, 1978, p 1420; N. Drjachlow, E. Lassow, W. Rasin and G. Stiehler, eds., "Kategorien des historischen Materialismus (Categories of Historical Materialism), p 147; S. Kheynman, "The Socialization and Organization of Production," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT--CISELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 1, 1979, p 23.
- 12. F. Engels, "The Principles of Communism," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, 1964, p 376.
- V. I. Lenin, "Seventh CPR(B) Congress," "Werke," Vol 27, Berlin, 1960, p 122.
  - 14. Cf. D. Wittich, K. Goessler, A. Koning and H. Seidel, eds., "Zum Verhaeltnis von individuellen and gesellschaftlichem Erkenntnisprozess" (On the Relation Between the Individual and Social Process of Cognition), Berlin, 1974, pp 146 f.
  - Cf. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vols I and III, loc. cit., pp 562 ff and pp 33, 54, 235 respectively.
  - 16. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol III, loc. cit., p 836.
  - 17. K. Naumann, "Moving Ahead on the Course of the Ninth SED Congress With Energy, Initiative and Creativity," "3. Konferenz der Bestarbeiter der Hauptstadt der DDR" (Third Conference of the Best Workers of the GDR Capital), Berlin, 1978, p 19.

- 18. Cf. "Geschichte der SED. Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 452; "30 Jahre Hennecke-Beweguzg" (Hennecke Movement 30 Years Old), p 20.
  - 19. Cf. "3. Konferenz der Bestarbeiter . . . ," loc. cit., pp 63 and 128.
  - 20. Cf. "Kategorien des historischen Materialismus," lo. cit., p 70.

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# PUBLIC MOOD REFLECTS FAITH IN PARTY

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, 1977 pp 22-26

/Article by Dr Laszlo Szekeres, Central Committee Department Head: "Faith in the Party Is a Measurement of Public Mood; Experiences Dealing with Reports and Complaints"7

/Text / An important criterion of socialist democracy is that it not only provides opportunities for the citizens to openly express their views, criticisms and observations, but also that our socialist state assumes the responsibility of remedying individual complaints and utilizing reports of public interest. In addition to establishing safeguards to insure free expressions of opinions it creates separate forums for complaints and reports of public interest and enhances their functioning through political and legal guarantees.

Parallel with the strengthening of socialist democracy there has been a growing emphasis on dealing with complaints and reports of public interest within the various spheres of public life. Law No. I adopted in 1977 and the position taken up the state organs summarizing the experiences resulting from its implementation have also been aimed at this end. The corporate sessions of party organs at various levels are also more and more frequently evaluating the tasks connected with the reports made by the population. This is also justified by the fact that there are many who refer their reports and complaints directly to the party, to one of the party organs.

Dealing with the problems of those who turn to our party is a fundamental and permanent characteristic feature of our party's work and working methods. This stems from the nature and the aims of the party and from that uncompromising dedication by which it is committed to serving the people and to defending the true interests of the working classes. The methods applied in this area of party work have always been closely connected with the prevailing historical, social and economic conditions, with the various forms of political struggle, with the working method of the party and the specific opportunities which it presents.

Citizens' complaints, requests and reports of public interest are sensitive and important indicators of our party's relations with the masses: they are the measurements of faith in the party and of the public mood. The direct information which they provide is well adapted to the multifaceted, differentiated system of party control. They unveil the distortions resulting from the implementation of decisions, they point out the deficiencies which exist in the work of a given political, social or economic organ, the weak points of cadre work and the laxities of discipline. They also bring to the surface the negative symptoms which manifest themselves in the relations between employees and management, subjective attitudes and the numerous bureaucratic distortions or administration. Each specific case represents a cross section of the virtues and shortcomings of our political work. It reflects conscientious and honest work, but it also calls attention to careless and superficial administration, to the violation and circumvention of laws as well as to the lack of a proper political approach. For our leading party organs, therefore, these cases mean not only that they must start providing remedies and holding people responsible. They also identify those areas and tasks which require more intense party work and more efficient party control.

The Central Committee Bureau of the MSZMP handles 18,000 to 20,000—verbal and written—complaints, requests and reports of public interest a year. Through their considerable political, movement—related and practical exp interest the social workers of the Central Committee Bureau provide significant help in dealing with these problems. The number and contextual diversity of cases makes it possible and at the same time also necessary for us to utilize our working methods in a differentiated fashion and to review and regularly evaluate our experience.

In the course of our work we never lose sight of the fact that our task is of a dual nature. The complaints, requests and reports of peblic interest made by people who either verbally or in writing bring their problems before the Central Committee are handled with thorough care and communist dedication. At the same time we also summarize the experience we have gained from letters; expose, on the basis of available information, the causes, components and prime motives behind complaints and perform evaluations and analyses.

These two tasks are organically connected; neither one can be neglected, nor can their significance be underestimated. Failure to sum up our experiences would deprive us of the possibility of eliminating the sources of complaints on the broader, societal level which goes beyond individual complaints, and of preventing the emergence of new ones. Our evaluating and analyzing work, however, must not lead to a lessening of efforts in dealing with individual cases. Those who turn to the party are—understandably—concerned primarily with finding solutions to their own problems and only secondarily with the fluctuating tendencies of complaints. Taking all this into account we consider it our fundamental duty to provide remedies for just complaints, to fulfill and to encourage justifiable requests and to firmly reject imaginary grievances and unfounded demands.

The inquiries and guidelines laid out by the organs called upon to conduct those inquiries must—in addition to providing a satisfactory solution to a given case—fulfill the specific information needs of our evaluating and analyzing work. Our evaluating and analyzing work is enhanced by statistical data grouped according to the subject matter of letters and to the residence of the letter writers (and the organ which had made the decision causing the complaint). On this basis, we are able to accurately determine the number and the contextual makeup of complaints which are brought before the Central Committee from each county or other administrative unit, and the nature and the sources of recurring grievances and requests. Comparing the experiences obtained from the counties and collating them with those received on the ministerial level has in many instances effectively helped to eliminate mistakes.

### General Tendencies

The Central Committee Bureau receives most of its letters—more than 30 percent of them—from the capital. This is followed—in accordance with the counties' area and population size—by the number of complaints and requests coming from Pest County (8 percent) and Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County (6. 1 percent). The least number of letters are received from Tolna (1.4 percent) and Vas (1.4 percent) counties.

According to the content of the letters our most pressing social problem is the question of housing. We have found, going back for several years, that 20 to 30 percent of the letters received by the Central Committee have been requesting a solution to this problem. There have been more people urging us to straighten out their housing situation in Budapest than in all the counties of our country combined. This also is a good indication of the seriousness of the housing situation in the capital.

The letters call our attention primarily to the problems of housing distribution and management. They empose some of the contradictions and deficiencies of local decrees which constitute the basis of distribution and bring to light the urgent necessity of measures aimed at the improvement of housing management and the expansion of the housing fund. We have forwarded our observations to the appropriate organs.

The evaluative examination of letters speaking to the issue of law enforcement and the dispensing of justice has become necessary due to the continuous increase in the number of letter writers. While 10 percent of the letters received by the Central Committee in 1970, commented on the activities of the police, the Public Prosecutor's office and the courts, by 1977 this proportion, had increased to 12.6 percent, and by 1978 to almost 15 percent.

Our experience gained from letters and inquiries shows that the actual decisions made and the positions taken by the organs in charge of handling a given case have been correct in the majority of cases; they have—from the legal—political point of view as well—properly applied our socialist laws. In cases

of occasional errors, redress has been provided by way of appeals and protests on legal grounds. The increase in the number of letters, therefore, was not brought about by legal grievances, but rather by the continued deficiencies which can be observed in the work of the organs concerned, by the persistently unceasing existence of some of the retrograde elements of social consciousness and forms of behavior, and by the lack of effective enough legal propaganda and adequate legal knowledge.

Among the legitimate observations regarding the work of the organs in charge of law enforcement and the administration of justice we have found recurring complaints about lesser or greater procedural errors, about the protraction of legal proceedings and the settlement of suits, about the tone and manner of the hearings, about the insufficient convincing power of legally binding decisions and about the difficulties and complications involved in implementing them.

Those letters which reflect distrust toward the work of our state organs are motivated by a distorted social consciousness and attitude. They have faith only in the work of our top-level organs and live in constant fear of illicit encroachments, corruption, intertwining and subjective decisions. For a few square ols /I ol= about 38,32 square feet/ of land or plot, or because of an inaccurately put up fence which hardly even interferes with their interest they are willing to carry on long years of lawsuits and are prepared to voice their complaint at every possible forum. In the case of a significant percentage of letter writers we have found a strong property-oriented attitude and a stubborn, and at times unjustified attachment to material goods and advantages.

By far most of the letters dealing with this subject show an incomplete or erroneous knowledge of the law. The fundamental principles of the functioning of the court system have remained essentially unchanged in the Hungarian People's Republic for decades. Yet, we are still forced to reject significant numbers of requests which--in the interest of winning their suit--urge prompt interference by the party organs. Our conversations with people presenting their complaints and requests in person indicate that a good many people, while in principle enthusiastically accepting equitable judgments and the principle of judicial impartiality, consider their ova case an obvious exception. There have been instances where they did not even appeal the judgment of the primary court but instead the sent their complaints to the Central Committee Bureau. Gross i norance can be observed in the area of understanding the role of witnesses, the rights and obligations of the participants in a suit, the method of weighing the evidence and the effects of specific legal consequences. All of this must force the organs concerned to step up the spreading of legal propagands and knowledge.

We have taken a similar look at our experience stemming from job-related complaints and requests and still this year we are going to evaluate the lessons drawn from letters dealing with pension claims and some areas of state administration. Our citizens opinions will, in this manner, too, reach the top leadership level.

There Are No "Small" and "Big" Cases

Our experience gained from the letters received by the Central Committee and from reports made in person have enable us to identify certain deficiencies in the work of our local organs and economic units. In the course of our inquiry we are also interested in finding out how a body, an organ or a leader relates to his own mistakes. To what extent to they differentiate between "small cases" and "big cases"; is the evaluation objective, do they strive to reveal the true situation or do they try to cover it up or to find excuses for themselves? In conducting our inquiry we proceed from the assumption that from the complainant's point of view there are no small and big cases. Everybody considers his own case to be the biggest and the most important for his narrower community and himself.

On the basis of our inquiring organs' replies and measures, and based on our own experience we are able also to keep a record of which letters of complaint or request were justified and which of them have proven to be unfounded. That is to say, it is not enough just to determine that there have been repeated complaints coming in from such and such administrative region or place to work.

We must also make note of those cases where the grievances mentioned in the letters are unfounded or cannot be remedied. In some places such complaints can be traced back to the discipline-strengthening, conscientious activities of our party, state and economic organs which are not to the liking of some of our letter writers. In such cases we consider it our duty to support the efforts of the organs concerned. However we also do not neglect to thoroughly examine those complaints which reach us only later, because in the course of "straightening things out" there may arise certain grievances the remedying of which may also be in the social interest.

With respect to the thorough handling of cases and he conscientious elucidation of problems we do not differentiate among those who turn to our party. Our Central Committee Bureau has been addressed in writing or in person by party members, nonmembers and by citizens of the most diverse occupations. positions and functions. Most of them ask for help, expect information or demand that their complaints be remedied and their wished fulfilled, we consider it a matter of principle to see to it that the way we handle individual problems and troubles or reports of public interest is not dependent on party membership or state, economic and public functions. In dealing with cases of various weights and social importance only the well-tested measure of our socialist system of values and law and order can serve as our norm. We believe that for most of our letter writers even small cases present hardships, and that often they turn to the highest organ of our party as their last resort expecting help, sincere guidance and authoritative opinions. It is for this reason that we try ... provide an objective answer to their problems both verbally and in writing. Our objective is to see to it that these cases are settled in a manner which is partylike, which upholds socialist legality and which takes into account the possibilities of an equitable solution. In the course of our work we always keep in mind not to give special consideration

(such as an out-of turn fulfillment or a housing demand) over others to anyone who turns to the Central Committee with a problem. At the same time we must make certain that he gets help, support and even protection if his request is justified. In most cases for the letter writer, too, only those opinions and attitudes seem convincing which they form after having inquired on the scene. For this reason we always adjust our method of inquiry to the nature of the specific case in question. Our experience indicates that most of those who turn to our party highly appreciate it when they are talked to with openness and when their situations are judged in a realistic and humane manner.

The thousands of letters received by the Central Committee indicate that the overwhelming majority of letter writers are—for some reason, in some direction and to some extent—subjective and biased. This in most cases is natural. An objective examination of complaints, requests and reports of public interest, however, requires accurate information which cannot be based exclusively on the letter's content. We use our own inquiries or those of the organ in charge of the case to straighten out the facts and to formulate our position.

We cannot approve of methods used in handling complaints and requests which by provoking harsh accusations and possible allegations from anonymous letter writers can with one stroke undermine the credibility of experienced, honest leaders and public figures in the eyes of the party worker or social worker conducting the inquiry. A letter can only serve as a starting point for an inquiry and not as an immediate destroyer of trust. It is the objectivity of the inquiry which ensures that well-founded allegations and causes for suspicion are kept separate from obviously ill-intentioned slanders.

In several cases our inquiries have led to the unveiling of errors, deficiencies, negligence and mistakes. Our views and methods are based on the premise that we should not precondemn those who make a mistake. Taking such a position by no means implies that we let the person at fault off the hook, rather it means the creation of safeguards for every phase of the inquiry to enhance the successful assertion of the requirements of objectivity and socialist humanity.

The Central Committee of the MSZMP also receives anonymous and ficticiously signed letters. Hiding behind the veil of anonymity is motivated by existentialistic anxieties, by fears of reprisal, by a lack of adequate proof and by the report's presumed failure. Often we find harshly expressed, slanderous and ill-intentioned remarks, misrepresented facts and totally unfounded informations among them. For this reason we do not deal with the content of unsigned letters. It is only on rare occasions that we resort to their vertification, and only if we consider it justified or necessary from their contextual characteristics.

Objective Inquiries

The task of solving the requests and complaints received by the Central

Committee belongs, for the most part, within the competence of the party, state and economic organs in charge of verification. Our experience indicates that the quality, thoroughness and objectivity of inquiries have improved and that there has been some progress made in adhering to deadlines as well. There has been a drop in the number of replies which—motivated by imaginary interests—aim to downplay the importance of the problem and to find excuses for the errors committed. There have also been cases, however, where the inquiring organs have assumed an unreasonably inflexible position and have striven not to provide a lawful and equitable solution to the problem, but—often if only out of prestige—to strengthen, verify and legally entrench their decisions.

The evaluation and the individual and collective examination of replies has brought to the surface a wide range of administrative, jurisdictional and law-enforcement-related observations. Individual grievances are remedied through repeated data gathering and by calling people's attention to the problem. It is important to keep in mind not to violate the rights and obligations of our state, economic and social organs while taking care of a complaint or request; let us not take over and "monopolize" all tasks related to solving these problems. The full assertion of socialist legality and a steadfast adherence to our party and state norms can best be ensured through correct ideological-political guidance and by calling people's attention to the problem.

There have been instances where 6 months or 1 year after the closing of a case employees of the Central Committee Bureau have gone out to visit former complainants to inquire about the results of the measure which they were told, verbally or in writing, would be taken and which was supposed to remedy their problems. There have been several positive examples which could be used to demonstrate the conscientious work of the organs concerned, although there have also been cases where the promised help remained a dead letter. In the meantime the complainant became indifferent, resigned himself to the inevitable and came to feel, therefore, that it was pointless to send in another complaint. These cases are damaging to our socialist order and to the reputation of our party.

The number of complaints, requests and reports of public interest received has shown a steadily declining trend. There has been a noticable improvement in the work of our state organs and a strengthening of civic discipline. In spite of this the task of handling the cases of people seeking the party's help presents increasing demands for our party organizations. The conscientious administering of these cases and the standardization and refinement of the methods used in this work will in the future, too, remain an important part of political work.

9379 CSO: 2500

# SOCIETY MUST STRIVE TO IMPROVE LOT OF GYPSIES

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 8, 1979 pp 31-36

/Article by Mrs Oszkar Barinkai, Secretary of the Pest County Politburo: "Improving the Conditions of the Gypsy Population Is a Social Concer"

/Text 7 Of our country's gypsy population, which could be put at 320,000 more than 20,000 live in Pest County-most of them residing in the Godollo, Nagykata, Buda and Rackeve districts. Our county party committee discussed their conditions in December of last year and examined what was being done toward the implementation of the party resolutions dealing with this problem. Having summarized our main experiences we found that as a result of an improvement in the economic, political and social background and due to the scores of measures which have been introduced there has been a favorable progress in their way of life, in their financial and housing circumstances as well as in their sanitary and educational conditions. Due to well-known reactionary forces and still existing prejudices, however, this progress has been slower than it would need to be. The progress of gypsies who have begun to integrate into society has been frustrated with setbacks. Most of those living in colonies and those who are still wandering have continued to retain their ancient -- but not always positive-gypsy customs and ways of life, and among a narrow group of them we have even found manifestations of opposition to our social norms.

One of the significant historical achievements of our social system is that it has brought with it a rurnabout in the lot of the popular masses and that it has refused to reconcile itself to accepting the conditions of popular strata living under unfavorable circumstances. Our congressional resolutions and governmental measures have made it our duty to eliminate social and educational inequalities and backwardness. Our county party committee has concluded: the relative backwardness which characterizes the conditions of our gypsy population has made it necessary to call for even more dynamic development, based on the results already achieved, and to speed up their integration into society. This demand was comprehensively expressed in the Politburo's April 1979 resolution.

# Broadening Employment Opportunities

The party committee debate focused on the question of broadening the gypsies' employment opportunities. This is a pressing problem since of our 11,000 able-bodied gypsy residents only 50 percent hold permanent jobs, another 20 percent work as seasonal workers while more than 3,000 of them still do not work as of today.

In the order of urgency of the tasks facing us, the county party committee identified the broadening of our gypsy population's employment opportunities as task number one. Not only because the opportunity for full employment is there and because we are in great need of workers, but primarily because the social shaping effect of work is the most powerful factor in the process of social integration. Working collectives have the most lasting effect on their way of life, on the shaping of their consciousness and on the development of their vocational, political and general knowledge primarily because they treat and regard good workers as fellow employees of equal rank. It is in the factories where the atmosphere of prejudice and discrimination is felt the least.

Our enterprises have developed various methods for expediting the social integration of gypsy workers. They assume responsibility over them and assist them through manual work in building workers' dwellings. The most effective school of learning is the collective of socialist brigades. In their (the gypsies') case, too, it is their ability to fulfill the responsibilities of the job and their successes at work which draws them most naturally into the various labor and socialist brigades. There has been an increase within their ranks in the number of staff members and socialist brigade members. Of the 160 members of the Pomaz Locksmiths Cooperative, 120 are gypsies. Most of the members have long broken with their traditional vagabond life, several of them have as much as 20 years of membership behind them and enjoy the respect and recognition of their fellow blacksmiths.

On the basis of the position adopted by the county party committee, several ideas have been presented aiming at broadening their participation in the socialist division of labor. Recently the local councils, together with the economic representatives of enterprises made an assessment of where they would like to see a greater number of gypsy workers employed. Since most of them by far live in villages it would be desirable—after overcoming existing prejudices—to employ them in agricultural cooperatives on a larger scale than before.

There are unexplored opportunities in the employment of women as well. Until now only one-third of the women of working age have been engaged in work. Undoubtedly there are several difficulties which hinder their employment on a larger scale, including first of all their large number of children. Nevertheless we feel that we should not give up on this possibility. It is primarily at their places of residence where we must search for the desired solution, since they are readily willing to engage in home industries and part-time work. In order, however, to get a greater number of them working

we must provide greater opportunities for placing their children into childcare institutions.

We need to improve the organization of manpower management, primarily among working youth between the ages 14-20. The personnel and specialized administrative agencies of our local councils are trying to locate and to make plans for these loitering young people providing them with specific job offers. The task is difficult and complex. Getting people who, as of today are still not working, or are not permanently employed, accustomed to steady work demands patience, persistence and friendly understanding, but at the same time consistency, firmness and if necessary the use of administrative methods as well toward vagrants and idlers.

The party committee unequivocally stressed the close interrelationship between rights and obligations. Equality among our citizens is the foundation of our ideological policy. The basis of this citizen equality is the need and obligation to work.

Improvement of Housing and Sanitary Conditions

The other main task identified by the county party committee was the improvement of the housing situation. In recent years there has been some progress made in this area. As a result of cooperation and significant social efforts, some 20 colonies have been eliminated since 1965. Of people with large families, 1735 have received new homes; 578 state financed the others built through subsidies and credit offerings. Several factories, such as the DCM /Danube Cement Works7 and the Automobile Factory of Csepel have taken part in the construction by providing material aid, scrap materials and special transportation rates.

In spite of all this, 40 percent of the county's gypsy population still lives in one of 85 colonies. The pace of elimination is slow, there are even new colonies coming into being and if the homes of those moving out are not torn down immediately, relatives and friends move in to take their place. In many respects, therefore, our problems tend to regenerate. It is due to our county's special characteristics that immigration from other counties has taken on such great proportions—10,000 to 14,000 persons per year—and this process manifests itself among our gypsy population as well.

We need to keep in mind that when eliminating a colony home we must also take over the housing problems of two, three and in some cases even more families since one of these homes may house not only several generations but several families.

It is a difficult and painful obstacle race for a given family to get out of the colony. Most of the families have only one wage earner and he has several mouths to feed: the children as well as the elderly. Those who were able, have moved out, while the social conditions of those remaining have worsened.

We must take into account the old and the sick who are unable to meet the already high cost of building. Yet, there are many who would like to move out because they understand that breaking away from the colony is the first step toward advancement.

The measures adopted by the government in 1978 aimed at the quick elimination of colonies which do not live up to the standards of our socialist conditions have brought considerable relief, including a 20,000 forint boost in the borrowable amount of construction and purchasing loans. This increased sum is already enough to buy an acceptable house in the outer parts of the county.

Taking advantage of these centrally provided opportunities—and, in addition, relying on our own resources—our party committee has made it its complex task to gradually eliminate the colonies, to prevent the creation of new ones and to provide assistance to families who have moved into a new environment. It feels that in order to accomplish this we need to establish—under local committee guidance and with the involvement of the factories concerned—a patronage system to ensure that preparations for the constructions are made and that the work in progress is properly assisted and supervised.

Our decision was based on local examples. At the Paty gypsy colony, 52 homes have been rehabilitated as of today, and in 2 years 44 families, 287 persons, have been moved out of Orkeny's Ilona-manor. The cause of eliminating this latter colony enjoys the most complete unity of societal support possible. This support is based on some 13 million forints in state subsidies. The Orkeny building cooperative has done a commendable job in quickly completing the construction of state housing units on the vacant village lots designated by the council for that purpose. Those newly built units have been scattered around six areas within the village. In most cases the local council and the factories and agricultural cooperatives concerned even delivered newly bought furniture to these new homes. The method used in eliminating the colony may also serve as an example in consciousness shaping. The truth is that not all gypsy families have responded to the reality of having to move with joy. There was begging and even cursing by some people. One could encounter resistance in the villages as well. There were all sorts of rumors going around about torn up floors and about the keeping of animals in apartments. Local leaders used their own experience to convince the propagators of such rumors of the reality. At the same time, they asked the new oc pants to demonstrate that they are not what they say they are. This firmnes, has proven to be effective and in cases of deviation from the agreement, ose responsible mave been held responsible for their actions within a ma ter of hours.

A solution cannot only be arrived at through the construction of new housing. We are also urging the local councils to assist in the elimination of gypsy rolonies by buying up vacant village homes.

The county party committee considers it imperative that our industrial and agricultural enterprises take part in providing housing for our gypsy population by drawing up blueprints, granting enterprise credits and giving special

consideration to those with large families. The party committee has concluded that while specially priced lots, loans and social support are indeed needed, hard work and economyminded living by gypsy families are also essential, and they must themselves strive for self-advancement and for the betterment of their future. After all, the only things which man truly appreciates are those which he himself has struggled for.

The improvement of sanitary and public heath conditions among the gypsy population is inseparably connected with the elimination of colonies. Our experience shows that the living conditions of most of the families settled in a village environment are increasingly catching up with the social average, and that our sanitary and social problems have also been considerably reduced. In recent years, growing numbers of them have attended counseling on family protection and the protection of women, and there has been greater participation in public vaccination programs as well. The aid-in-kind, baby-vitamin and powdered-milk programs, and the free availability of birth control devices have brought favorable results. The educational work of public health workers and Red Cross activists trying to inculcate healthy living habits has also begun to assert itself in recent years.

Despite the above-described progress, the sanitary conditions of those living in colonies continue to remain poor. Most of them lack even basic hygiene and live unbealthy lives. Many of the young are chronically ill and there is widespread alcoholism. There are still incidences of epidemics and illnesses resulting from the lack of hygiene. Because of the poor living conditions infant mortality is almost twice as high as the county average.

The county party committee feels that in villages with large numbers of gypsy residents it is imperative to establish public health clinics. Here health education would focus on family planning and child care and on bringing about an understanding of basic hygienic conditions. In the forthcoming years we hope to make prenatal and infant care, in-hospital deliveries and child vacinations universal among them. We also want to improve the sanitary conditions at the colonies, and to do this we have called upon the county leaders of soilal [Fablic Health and Medical Clinic for Contagious Diseases] to come up with a scheme for the disinfection of colony homes.

An important element in changing the gypsies' way of life is the raising of their educational level. There has been considerable progress made in this area as well. The number of gypsy children enrolled in kindergartens and preschool groups is growing yearly. Their number enrolled in the upper grades of elementary schools is greater than the national average. Two hundred forty students receive free meals and 36 percent of them are provided study hall privileges. Half of the nearly 100 vocational students among them receive room and board.

Despite the advances made, our more burning problems are only slowly being solved. Thirteen hundred gypsy children are not enrolled either in kinder-garten or in preschool. Most of the children rated as unfit for school,

exempted or ungradeable and of those receiving special education come from among gypsy children. There are frequent cases of grade repetitions, overage students and much absenteeism from school.

The county party committee views the development of the younger generation's educational opportunities as a key issue. It considers it as such primarily to ensure that these growing children, the generation of the future, will never again have to face the fate of their fathers and grandfathers. The resolution made it its goal to increase the number of gypsy children enrolled in kindergartens, nurseries and daycare centers because disadvantages must be eliminated as early as possible, even at the childhood stage. And in order to finish elementary school a child must go through kindergarten.

Our statistics show that only some 7-8 percent of gypsy children of school age complete elementary school. One-fourth of the imperilled children and 20 percent of those under state care are gypsy. This means that in the course of their school years these children repeatedly face the most painful of childhood failures: the failure to pass and having to repeat a grade. These school years filled with little joy and much failure very often affect their working years and adulthood as well. Many young people enter the adult stage virtually from childhood, thus depriving themselves of the experiences of the most wonderful and carefree years. They enter into early marriages as children and the girls become mothers, often unwed mothers, while being practically children themselves. Yet how many of them tell us that they, too, would like to have fun and be young. This is why we ask our KISZ organs not to limit their activities to include only those who are politically active but to try harder to reach out to these young people as well, since they-having broken with the ways of their fathers and grandfathers -- must also be shaped and formed along with the former.

# Through Social Collaboration and Party Guidance

We realize that we are not talking about a problem which can be solved within a short period of time. Everything that can be, however, must be done today. Our demand for more dynamic progress is justified by the fact that in our rounty the improvement of gypsies' conditions has become a matter of public hand suffectives and the citizens living and working in our county have all timen part in it. Our party organizations, guided by a sense of political responsibility, are systematically shaping the lot of our gypsy population. Immediately following the Politburo's 1961 resolution this subject was studied on 12, and between 1972-1977 on 14 occasions by our district party organizations. A true indication that we are correctly handling the problem is that we are not treating it separately from our political work: the complex and less significant problems concerning the gypsy population are dealt with in our social policy as well as in public education and in our economic policy. Today the districts and towns concerned already have general ideas and overall plans for implementation of measures and they closely follow and assist their local realization.

While preparing for the party committee session we ran into some criticism according to which it has become fashionable for us to deal with the gypsy question. No matter how critically we examine our work we must say that we see no danger of this. Dealing with the conditions of the gypsies is by no means a popular subject! It means years of hard and agonizing work which does not promise spectacular results, and we must struggle hard for every inch of progress we make. The handling of this question by our party, state and mass organizations is characterized by a sense of responsibility and improving coordination. Especially significant in this respect is the work which is being done by the county council, the police headquarters and Red Cross organizations.

We must, however, also add self-critically that our party committees and organizations need to use their political means more effectively to combat prejudices, distrust and incorrect views. Attitudes and manners of treatment characterized by contempt, seclusion and ostracism toward the gypsies have become much too common, and even with the passing of several generations they have continued to stubbornly live on. We are not effective enough in combating false views which equate the whole of our gypsy population with socially dangerous, disreputable elements. We are not trying to eliminate defematory generalizations which are often nationalistic in character. To correctly interpret the problems, we must clearly understand the status of the gypsies: namely, that they are not as autonomous nationality, but rather an ethnic group which is becoming gradually integrated into our society.

The county party committee has concluded that we must try harder to ensure that gypsies who wish to further the public interest, who have made vocational and political progress and have shown an interest in politics are drawn into public life. Our ideas and plans of implementation do not deal with these problems adequately, often using the excuse that since there are no records sept, it is impossible to tell who the gypsies are and that they should not be known anyway because paying greater attention to them would constitute discrimination. We believe that the principles of our cadre policy must apply to this question as well, and what is more, the qualitative changes which are taking place in the gypsy communities must be handled with special political sensitivity and thoroughness.

In our evaluations and in determining our tasks we rely on our party organizations' sense of political responsibility because we know very well that it is not enough to set up committees, to carry our surveys and to adopt resolutions, we also need a motor to combine these forces in the interest of attaining our goals. We are convinced that it would greatly increase our chances if we could form a more harmonious and better organized cooperation among our various organs. This is the party organizations' task everywhere.

The fundamental notion underlying the entire party committee debate was that the social adaptation of the gypsy population can and must be realized only with their help, with their active and action-ready cooperation and enthusiasm.

9379

CSO: 2500

### BRIEFS

U.S. BLACKS SUPPORT PALESTINIANS -- Washington, 24 Sept., PAP (By PAP correspondent Stanislaw Glabinski) -- A new element, which can hardly be overseen, has emerged in the American political life. It is a rapid growth of interest among America's black community for the U.S. foreign policy, especially the Middle East one. The leading American black organizations begin to show strong and resolute support for the Palestinian nation and to demand the creation of conditions in which that nation will be able to realize its legitimate rights. This phenomenon is to a large extent the result of Ambassador Young's resignation from his post of the U.S. representative at the United Nations. The resignation has been most obviously forced upon Young and on the American side by Israel and pro-Israeli lobby in the U.S., visibly dissatisfied with and concerned over Young's contacts with the PLO. At the end of last week a delegation of one of the leading black organizations, the Conference of the Christian Leaders of the South, returned to the U.S. from a journey to the Middle East. The delegation met with Yasir 'Arafat and other PLO leaders but did not stop in Israel for Premier Begin had announced beforehand that he was not going to receive the delegates of America's black community after their talks with the Palestinian leader. Immediately after its return to the United States the delegation launched an energetic action. It has announced a big campaign in support of the rights of the Palestinian nation. A number of public seminars devoted to that problem is to be held. Yasir 'Arafat has been invited to attend the first one. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 24 Sep 79 LD]

CSO: 2020

DECREE ON PARTY, STATE COMMISSION ON STANDARDIZATION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 76, 1 Sep 79 pp 1-3

[Decree of the State Council: "Decree of the State Council Concerning the Establishment of the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization in the Economy and the Establishment of Branch Commissions"]

[Text] Decree of the State Council Concerning the Establishment of the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization in the Economy and the Establishment of Branch Commissions

The continued increase in the technical and qualitative level of production, improved utilization of raw materials, goods and energy, and the most efficient possible use of the resources of the national economy require improvement in the activities of typification and standardization so as to meet the requirements of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution and the new stage of Romania's social-economic development.

For this purpose, it is necessary for the activity of the typification and standardization to be organized within a unitary concept throughout the economy, for all sectors of material production to be included, and for assurance to be provided for improvements in the activities of conception and design, optimum use of production capacities, proper organization of production and labor, conservation of the material and financial means of society, the growth of labor productivity, and broad promotion of scientific-technical progress in the national economy.

With a view toward improving the activities of typification and standardization, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Art 1. Effective with the date of this decree, the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization in the Economy is established.

The chairman of the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization is the chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

The composition of the Party and State Commission is shown in the Annex which forms an integral part of this decree.

- Art 2. The Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization is responsible for fulfillment of party and state decisions in this field; it coordinates, guides and controls all typification and standardization activity carried on by the ministries, the other central organs, the central institutes, and academies in this field.
- Art 3. In principal. the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization has the following responsibilities:
- a) it is responsible for continued improvement throughout the economy of typification and standardization norms and for reduction to the absolute minimum necessary of the number of standard dimensions of materials, subassemblies, machines, installations and equipments, as well as all types of fabrication lines and industrial and civil construction which are built in Romania;
- b) it controls and insures strict respect on the part of all research, design and execution units of the typification and standardization norms established in accordance with the law:
- c) it establishes measures for application of standardization plans in realization of all technological lines and industrial and civil constructions:
- d) it promotes, throughout the economy, fabrication of typified and standardized materials, components, subassemblies, machines, installations, equipments and constructions for the purpose of achieving wide-scale introduction of technical progress, improvements in quality, reduction in the consumption of raw materials, goods, energy and fuel, and the growth of economic effectiveness;
- e) it takes measures to insure that in the execution of all work economic units utilize proper materials, subassemblies, machines, installations and equipments produced within the country. In the event that import of materials, machines or installations is required for technical and economic reasons, it insures that they meet the norms established through the typification and standardization documents developed and approved in accordance with the law.

On the basis of the best results achieved in scientific research, technological engineering, and construction activity and taking into account the progress achieved in this field on the world level, the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization establishes measures for annual improvement of the typification and standardization norms.

- Art 4. The decisions of the Party and State Commission in problems of typification and standardization are obligatory for the ministries, the local and central state organs, and for all economic units.
- Art 5. Commissions are established for the following branches for coordination and guidance of activities by branches in the field of typification and standardization:
- --metallurgy;
- -- machine building:
- -- construction materials and forestry;
- -- transportation and telecommunications;
- -- electrical and thermal energy;
- --mining, petroleum and geology:
- -- light industry;
- -- agriculture and the food industry;
- -- industrial and civil constructions.

The composition of the branch commissions is recommended by the leadership of the ministries and the other central state organs and is approved by the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization.

- Art 6. In principle, within the particular field of activity, each of the branch commissions has the following responsibilities:
- a) it organizes the development of the typification and standardization plans which are made within the branch;
- b) it establishes the basic criteria for reduction of material, energy and fuel consumption by means of typification and standardization of all the products of the branch:
- c) it checks on application of measures for assimilation and introduction into production of typified and standardized materials, components, sub-assemblies, machines and installations which assure promotion of technical progress and growth in economic effectiveness in all sectors of activity in the respective branch;
- d) it insures that strict respect is given to the typification and standardization norms in the fabrication of all products in the branch;
- e) it analyzes and prepares proposals for the typification and standardization of materials, products and technologies for the branch in which it carried on its activity and submits these proposals for examination to the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization in the Economy;
- f) it analyzes standardization plan proposals for technological and fabrication lines and for industrial and civil constructions and submits

them for examination to the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization;

g) it exercises control and guidance over all units with typification and standardization responsibilities in the branch.

Art 7. Within 10 days from the date of this decree, the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization, together with the branch commissions, will develop a program which will insure completion by 15 September 1979 of the first stage of improvements in typification and standardization norms throughout the entire economy for 1979, noting that this program will have to be submitted for approval in accordance with the law.

Beginning with 1980, plans for improvement of typification and standardization will be completed for the entire economy and will be submitted for approval, by decree of the State Council, by 31 March of each year.

Nicolae Ceausescu, Chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 20 July 1979 No 274

Annex: Composition of the Party and State Commission for Problems of Typification and Standardization in the Economy

Chairman:

First Deputy Chairman:

Deputy Chairmen:

Eleena Ceausescu

Gheorghe Oprea

Iosif Banc Ion Patan

Nicolae Constantin

Ioan Ursu

Members:

Stefan Constantinescu, chairman of the Branch

Commission for Metallurgy;

Ion Constantinescu, chairman of the Branch

Commission for Machine Building:

Gheorghe Caranfil, chairman of the Branch

Commission for Chemistry:

Ion Teoreanu, chairman of the Branch Commission

for Construction Materials and Forestry:

Corneliu Burada, chairman of the Branch Commission

for Transportation and Telecommunications;

Dumitru Popescu, chairman of the Branch Commission

for Electrical and Thermal Energy;

Gheorghe Fulea, chairman of the Branch Commission

for Mining, Petroleum and Geology;

Constantin Popescu, chairman of the Branch

Commission for Light Industry;

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Branch Commission

for Agriculture and the Food Industry;

Valeriu Cristescu, chairman of the Branch Commission for Industrial and Civil Constructions;
Nicolae Marin, deputy chairman of the State
Planning Committee;
Costache Trotus, deputy minister of the Ministry
of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the
Management of Fixed Assets;
Gheorghe Costea, state inspector general of the
State General Inspectorate for Control of Product
Quality;
Valeriu Ceoceonica, deputy chairman of the
National Council for Science and Technology;
Dumitru Mihai, director general of the Romanian
Institute of Standardization;
Ion Totu, director general of the Central
Institute of Economic Research.

The Secretariat of the commission is provided by the apparatus of the National Council for Science and Technology and the apparatus of the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets.

6010

CSO: 2700

WEST GERMAN PRESS REPORTS NEW DISSIDENT PUBLICATION

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 26 Sep 79 p 7

[Belgrade correspondent Heiko Flottau]

[Excerpt] Milovan Djilas, critic of the Yugoslav regime, has published in Belgrade, together with three of his countrymen, an approximately 200-page mimeographed publication titled "The Clock" which is literary in nature but can be understood as the beginning of a political opposition against the present regime in Ygoslavia.

In addition to Djilas, contributors [to the publication] include the writer, Mihajlo Mihajlov, who lives in exile in the West, Momcilo Selic who left the LCY in 1971, and Dragoljub Ignjatovic who in 1974 was given a suspended sentence of 3 1/2 years because he had criticized socialism in Yugoslavia as a variation of Stalinism. All four writers are represented in the publication which has not yet been printed in Yugoslavia because its founders have been prohibited from publishing their work....

Momcilo Selic has tried in vain in the past to emigrate from Yugoslavia but, in contrast to the other authors, has neither been sentenced nor arrested. He has had one novel published at his own expense in Yugoslavia. The publication publishes two stories by Selic, titled, "The Train" and "Wisdom of the East." Djilas is represented with the story "The Impulse" and a story dedicated to the lawyer Barovic who was recently killed in an accident. This work was published in the Federal Republic [of Germany] in the 1960's.

Mihajlov has contributed an essay on Dostoyevsky translated from the Russian.

CSO: 2300

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